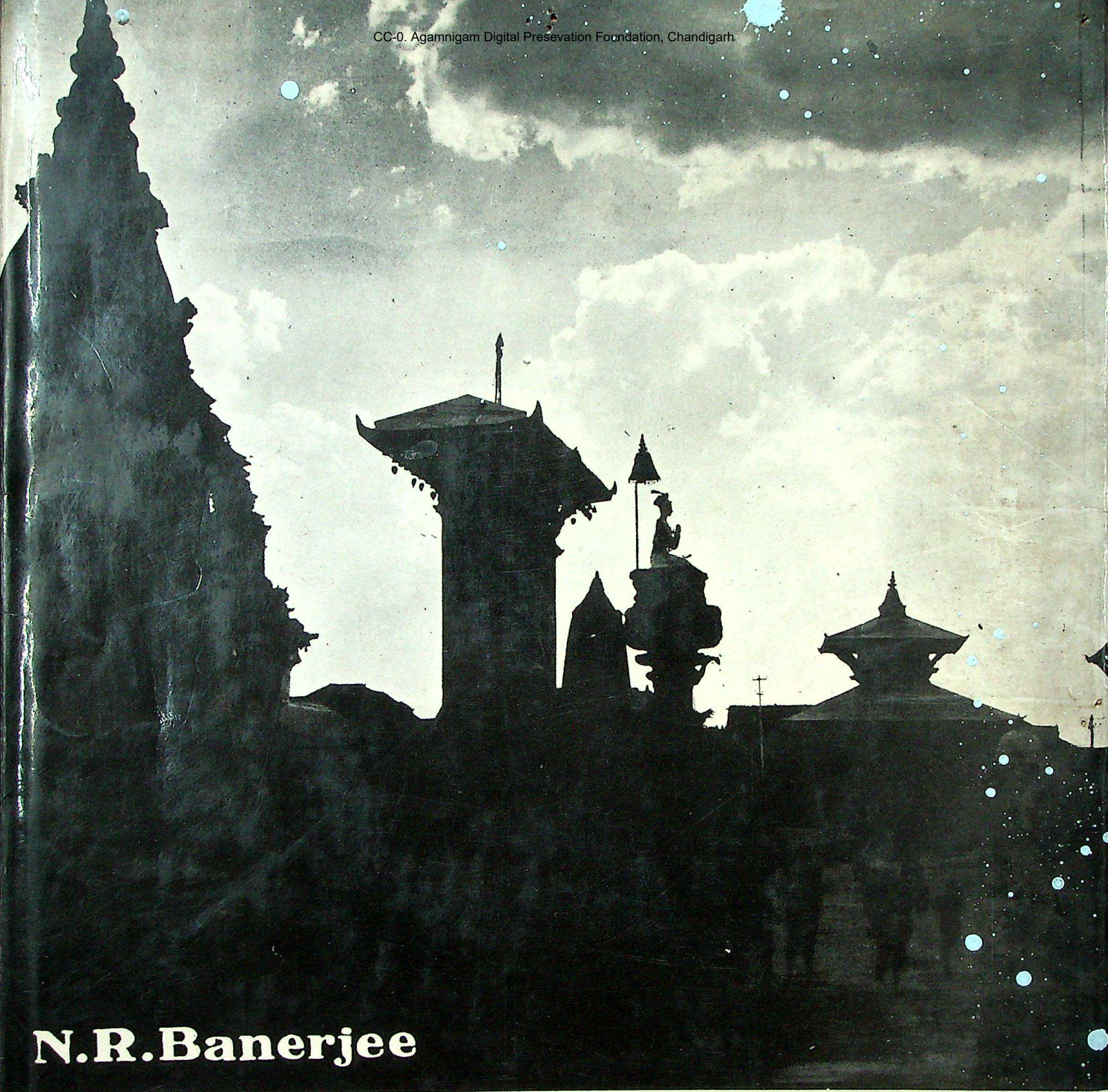




N.R. Banerjee

Nepalese Architecture

NEPALESE ARCHITECTURE



Patan : Gilt metal figure of *Garuḍa* on capital of pillar in front of Krishna temple (A.D. 1637).

NEPALESE ARCHITECTURE

N.R. BANERJEE

WITH A FOREWORD BY
C. SIVARAMAMURTI

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Dedicated to
Professor Niharranjan Ray

FOREWORD

Nepal is so closely knit with India geographically, culturally, historically and in the concept of the four *purushārthas* that India has held as its summum bonum and which are held in the same reverence and glory in Nepal, and so close knit is the heritage of the *trayīvidyā*, the Vedic text and the national epics, the *itihāsas*, here as well as there, that it is impossible to think of Nepal apart from India.

Kālidāsa has said that the goddess of royal prosperity, loving both Dilīpa and Raghu, divided herself, to enable a portion of her to be transmitted to prince Raghu, herself being so fond of great qualities that abounded in both, like the discerning bee from the lotus to the newly blown lily : *agāchchhad amśena guṇābhilāshinī navāvatāraṁ kamalādivotpalam, Raghuvamśa*.

There was a great pride felt by even Buddha and by the mighty Guptas in their relationship with the Lichchhavis. In fact, Samudragupta, the mighty emperor, calls himself *Lichchhavidauhitra*, daughter's son of the Lichchhavis. Buddha has born in Lumbinī in Nepal. A visit to the eight sacred spots associated with Buddha being an important element of pilgrimage for the Buddhists, the pious emperor Aśoka not only went to Lumbinī, but also planted in the very spot where Buddha was born a pillar, and got it inscribed mentioning that the great master was here born. He had already been coronated a king for twenty years when his great longing to visit this sacred place was fulfilled. 'King Priyadarśī, beloved of the gods, visited this spot, erected this stone pillar, and as the Master was born in this village, he made it free from taxes and subject to pay only one eighth of the produce as land revenue instead of the normal rate: *silā thabhe cha usapāpīte, hide bhagavan jāte ti lumminigāme ubalike kaṭe aṭhabhāgiye cha*. By a strange coincidence, it is indeed the most beautifully preserved inscription and the letters are among the loveliest in the Asokan series.

Such a great place associated with one of the greatest personalities of the world like Buddha whose influence in philosophy, ethics and religion has spread practically

all over the world, and specially in Asia, could not be overlooked by any of the successive generations of rulers, many of whom from the earliest times have had the highest veneration for the teachings of the Buddha. Nepal was the place where the Buddha was born of Śuddhodana. In India *odana* was equated with Brahma, the Supreme One, as from it originated, was sustained and into it ultimately converged all the matter of this universe: *yato vā imāni bhūtāni jāyante, yena jātāni jīvanti yat prayāntyabhisamviśanti, tad brahma*. Whatever type of food one takes, the offspring takes after it: *yādri gannam bhakshayate tādrīṣi jāyate prajā*. Śuddhodhana, as his name suggests, could produce only *sattva*, as he was *śuddha* or *sattva*, and that was Buddha. *Sattva*, is embodied in the highest ascetics, *munis*, and if there was a *muni* among the *Śākyas*, it was *Śākyamuni*. So he was *Śākyamuni*. Buddha's philosophy was mainly influenced by the Sāṅkhya of Kapila, and his city itself has shown that reverence to Kapila, even before his advent, by its being known as Kapilavastu.

In the face of all this it is amazing that so little has been written to understand the great and inspiring culture and art of Nepal. Dr. Stella Kramrisch, a scholar of varied achievement and learning, like the revelation she gave by making known to the world years ago the *Chitrasūtra* of the *Vishṇudharmottara*, an important early text on painting, had again made it possible for the world to know the art of Kerala which was equally little known, and more so the art of Nepal. Professor Tucci, the great polymath scholar, has also written considerably on Nepal and particularly on Tibetan forms of art in sculpture and painting. Still the architecture and sculpture of Nepal require detailed study for understanding the nuances of a great line of craftsmen that created their own forms in their own local style. Painting and sculpture are embellishments to architecture, which is the essence of *sthāpatya*, given such an important place in India, and on which great kings, well-versed in fine arts, literature, philosophy and other arts and science, had specially given masterly works. Bhoja's *Samarāṅgaṇasūtra-dhāra* is a masterly work on architecture. Himself an architect, he could envisage a huge lake Bhojasāgara and the temple of Śiva on its brink at Bhojpur. Mahendrarvarman, as an experiment in architecture in South India, introduced the carving out of a cave from the living rock, which, though as achievement by him, created such wonder, that he expressed it in his inscription at Mandagapattu where he styled himself *Vichitrachitta*, a curious-minded one, as it is the urge of his curiosity that brought into existence this first Pallava cave temple. The Baroda copper plate of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Karkasuvārṇavarsha describes in poetic eloquence the beauty of the monument of Kailasa carved out of living rock at Ellora. "Seeing this wonderful temple on the mountain of Elāpura, the astonished immortals travelling in celestial cars always take much thought saying, 'This is surely the abode of Svayambhū Śiva and not an artificially made (building). Has ever such beauty been seen?' Verily even the architect who built it felt astonished, saying 'The utmost perseverance would fail to accomplish such a work again! ah! how has it been achieved by me?' and, by reason of it, the king was caused to praise his name." (*Indian Antiquary*, 12, p. 159). The victorious king Vikramāditya of the Western Chālukya dynasty brought the architect *Sūtradhārī Śrī*

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Sarvasiddhi *āchārya* to fulfil his ambition to have created temples worthy of his realm, equal to those that he appreciated of the Pallavas at Kāñchīpuram like the Rājasīmheśvara (Kailāsanātha). The inscription at Pattadakal gives the great achievement, both textual and practical, of this great builder. Ravi, the architect who built the great early Chola temple at Tiruvorriyur, is eulogised in the inscription as learned and astonishing in his task.

It has been a tradition in India to honour the *sthapati*, architect, and his profession was indeed a noble one. The commencement of even the newly constructed temporary pavilion for the marriage of his beloved daughter Rājyaśrī by Prabhākara-vardhana is prefaced by the appropriate honour and respect in the form of sandal paste, garland, flowers, garments and *arghya* offered to the *sthapati* as clearly given in the *Harshacharita : sitakusumavilepana-vasanasatkritais sūtradhārair ādiyamānavivāhavedi-sūtrapātam*, p. 142.

The architecture of Nepal has a great history and it has had its own development through the centuries. It is indeed a great satisfaction that a long felt want of a detailed study of the architecture of Nepal, has fructified in this excellent book produced by Dr. N.R. Banerjee. Dr. Banerjee, Director of the National Museum, when he was earlier in the Archaeological Survey of India, was vouchsafed by the grace of the Almighty to spend a few precious years of his life in Nepal as Adviser in Archaeological Studies to His Majesty's Government of Nepal. Being a student of Sanskrit and one keenly interested in every aspect of Indian art and epigraphy, he could fully utilise this special opportunity to study the great art that was almost unnoticed outside its physical boundaries. Even here, it was seen and probably enjoyed by many but an expression of it to share with others was yet to come. Fortunately, it is now here in this. While in Nepal Dr. Banerjee had written several articles, revealing in themselves, on the early sculptures that meant the basic foundation for the understanding of the art of Nepal itself which has continued even till the nineteenth century as one of great quality continuing earlier delicate touches longer than could be expected after the passage of time, when stylisation could ruin and diminish the continuity of aesthetic quality, as has been the case in the mainland itself. His important articles like 'Pārvatī's Penance as Revealed by the Eloquent Stones of Nepal', 'A Note on the Iconography of Umāmaheśvara in Nepal' and 'Three Early Sculptures in Stone from the National Museum, Kathmandu' are as important as the paper interpreting the scene from the fifth canto of the *Kumārasambhava* illustrating the abhorrence of Pārvatī to hear anything derogatory spoken of Śiva sculpturally represented on one of the Cambodian carvings in the Musée Guimet.

It was my feeling that a book on the art and architecture of Nepal was long overdue from a scholar who had spent so much of his time and so assiduously studying the art of Nepal. It is indeed a great satisfaction that this book has been written by the urge of his love of this material. In the concluding part of this book he has shown how Nepal and India are practically one in every way, though, obviously, Nepal has its own separate identity apparent in its own nuances in culture, literature and art.

Dr. Banerjee has fully utilised the epigraphical material and correlated it with the study of the architecture and art of Nepal which it helps suitably to understand. The inscriptions of Nepal in Gupta characters published so long ago in the *Indian Antiquary* have been studied and made better by Dr. Gnoli in his book *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters* which is invaluable in this study. There are also other later inscriptions, quite a number of them, fully utilised by Dr. Banerjee. He has systematically discussed in the various chapters the cultural background against the geographical features of Nepal, the people and their life. A chapter is devoted to outline the history. A discussion of the speciality of the types and characteristics of temple architecture in Nepal follows a general account of its general architectural norms. He has drawn attention to the close parallelism between the architecture of India and Nepal, the sources of inspiration and the special characteristics of individuality in Nepal. The multiple roofs of Nepal are specially noteworthy for study of similar architectural features in India as well. He has made a special study of the construction and repair of monuments in India as well as in Nepal. The prayer for the protection and the asseveration of imprecatory verses as curse for desecration of monuments has been a special feature in Indian epigraphy repeated in Nepal as well. All such features that closely knit India and Nepal have been brought together in this very interesting study.

Dr. Banerjee, eminently qualified for the task by his years of passionate study of material in this country, which has been protected in almost pristine purity for years by her own natural barriers, has given us a book that is bound to arrest the attention of scholars all over the world to have a peep into a great treasurehouse of culture in Nepal.

I am indeed overjoyed to associate myself with this beautiful work of art without which the study of Indian art itself would be incomplete, as Nepal and India are one, and one cannot be reckoned without the other. Scholars all over should be grateful to Dr. Banerjee for having provided this illuminating book and it is to be hoped that it would soon be followed by a sequel on other aspects of culture and art of Nepal which is hopefully expected from his pen.

C. SIVARAMAMURTI

New Delhi

November 11, 1979.

PREFACE

The present work is the result of my researches on the architecture of Nepal carried out during my tenure as Archaeological Adviser to His Majesty's Government of Nepal from the 18th April 1966 to the 7th January, 1972, under the Indian Cooperation Mission at Kathmandu.

That events happen by the will of God is fully vindicated by the fact of my appointment in Nepal, which took place entirely by accident, though my gratitude and thanks are due in a large measure to those who were intimately connected with the shaping of my career, particularly to Shri A. Ghosh, then Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India. But for this lucky chance, I would never have acquired any insight into the artistic or archaeological heritage of Nepal, and in gratitude to the Divine, I availed myself fully of the opportunity to devote myself to the service of Nepal and to the study of her enormous and distinctive legacy, for the sheer magnitude of which the time at my disposal was comparatively too little.

The studies, of which the present work is a small fragment, were carried out not as the pursuit of any assigned project on the subject, but as a pursuit of my own interest in it during the leisure hours. The present study is based mainly on the inscriptional evidence, which is fortunately plentiful in Nepal, and provides ample documentation of the construction, repairs and restoration of structures of all kinds, such as *pāṭis*, *powāhs*, *dhūṅge-dhārās*, temples, *stūpas* or *chaityas*, monasteries and palaces, including the mention of technical terms, through the centuries, as well as actual observation of the extant monuments themselves.

I had also collected a great deal of data on the various forms of architecture in Nepal and I hoped to analyse them at leisure and present as comprehensive a picture as I possibly could at a later stage. However, owing to my official duties, first in the Archaeological Survey of India (1972-76) and then in the National Museum (from March 1976 onwards), which were quite exacting and never left me enough time to

consolidate the results of the researches, the dream remained unfulfilled. Meanwhile the time was running out and so I decided to put my thoughts on the basis of the data I had gathered in the form of the present work. I am fully aware of the lacunae bound to be in a pioneering work, in spite of the best care in study and exposition.

I avail myself of the opportunity to thank all my colleagues in the Archaeological Department of His Majesty's Government of Nepal, especially to its dynamic Director General, Shri Ramesh Jung Thapa, who made it possible for me to visit a large number of Nepalese monuments and made me feel perfectly at home in Nepal during my entire tenure there. I shall be failing in my duty if I did not express my gratitude to the successive Indian Ambassadors in Nepal, namely, the late Sriman Narayan Agrawal, Shri Raj Bahadur, and Shri L.P. Singh, now Governor of Meghalaya and Assam, as well as Shri Rajeshwar Prasad, then Director of the Indian Cooperation Mission, Kathmandu (1969-1972), under all of whom I served and who constantly encouraged me in my studies.

Credit must also be given to Shri Agam Prasad who was primarily responsible for goading me to bring out the book from the obscurity and oblivion of notes and for pushing it speedily through the press as the publisher.

I owe most of the excellent photographs published in the book to the Archaeological Survey of India which had sent a team to Nepal in 1962 to make a quick survey of the sculptural wealth of Nepal. Thanks are particularly due to Shri Ranjit Gupta, Photographic Officer of the Archaeological Survey of India, who had himself taken the photographs, more than seventeen years ago, with observant precision, for helping me with the selection of the illustrations and for preparing the prints for publication. He has also helped me to prepare the lay-out of the dust jacket. To Shri B.K. Thapar, Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, I am grateful for permission to reproduce most of the photographs. To the Director, Musée Guimet, Paris, I owe the photograph in pl. LXXVII and gracious permission to reproduce it.

I am grateful to the Prachar-Prasar Mantralaya of His Majesty's Government of Nepal for the illustrations on pls. XXXIII & LXXI, reproduced from *Nepālī Lalitkala* written by Balakrishna Sama (2022 V.S.), and to D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Private Limited for permitting me to reproduce the illustrations in figs. 4, 7, & 9.

I am grateful to several colleagues in the National Museum, namely, Dr. P. Banerjee, Dr. B. N. Sharma, Lala Aditya Narain, Dr. Sashi Prabha Asthana, Dr. Chhaya Bhattacharya and Shri B. S. Bisht for helping me in various ways and constant encouragement.

I am grateful to my wife, Shrimati Pratima Devi, and my dear children Shivani and Chinmoy for their sustained interest in my work, their constant encouragement and support and much sacrifice on this account, besides their infinite patience.

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I am extremely grateful to Shri C. Sivaramamurti, one of the foremost exponents of Indian art to-day and my great predecessor in the National Museum, for favouring me with his gracious foreword.

I consider it a matter of pride and privilege to be able to dedicate this humble work to Professor Niharranjan Ray who opened my eyes to the beauties and mysteries of the bounty of man and nature as an added dimension to my archaeological studies.

I hope, however, that the book will provide some insight into the social, religious and artistic aspects of a region so close to us and yet generally not so well known, and at once create interest and provoke curiosity and challenge among the readers.

October 22, 1979
New Delhi

N.R. BANERJEE

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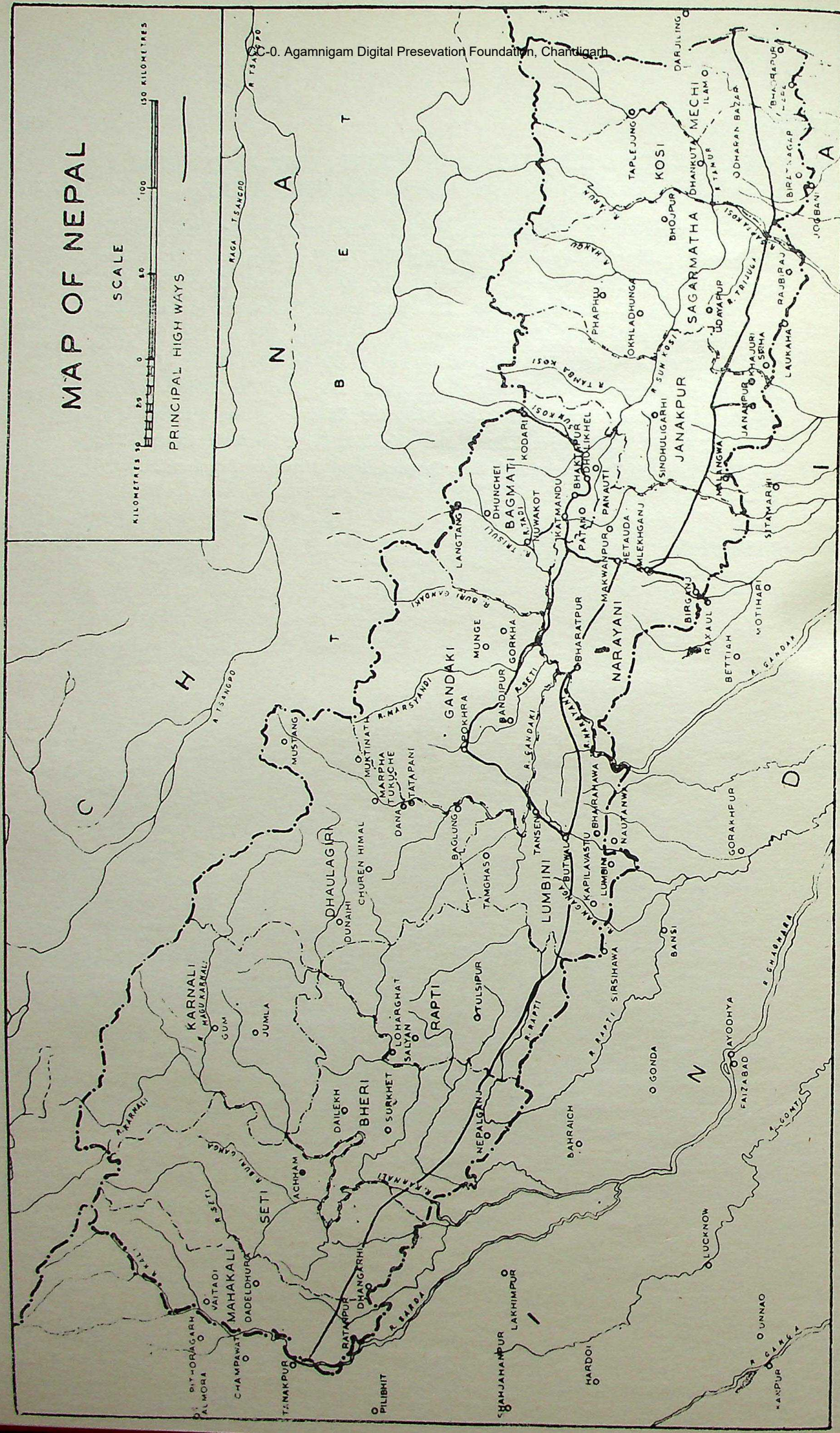


Fig. 1. Map of Nepal (Courtesy : Survey of India, Dehradun).

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Nepal has preserved an expansive variety of architectural styles, all linked by a similarity of constructional pattern and materials, and all integrated into a homogenous complex by their underlying purpose. The architectural forms have their strong points and their weaknesses, but perhaps their strength far outweighs their weakness and this factor is the strongest recommendation to their preservation, proliferation and perpetuation.

The face of Nepal is changing very fast during the last two decades in the natural pace of events. Old barriers are falling apart and new milestones are being covered quickly. Even her ancient architecture cannot expect to save itself from the forces of progress that are on the move, for in matters of practical utility there is no room for sentiment or blind adherence to tradition. Though there is but little time in these busy days for a thought upon the past traditions, one may perhaps pause a moment and consider if the ancient traditions have any claims at all upon the protective hand of posterity. The inherent traditionalism of Nepal, in matters of moral and spiritual values, raises a ray of light and provides the much-needed hope for redemption, if properly channelized, to her ancient architectural achievements also. It is no exaggeration to say that Nepalese youths of today are among the best dressed men and women of the world, but luckily, in their heart of hearts, they remain firmly rooted to the soil. So it must be in the field of art and architecture as well.

In spite of the importance of the continued use of *pātis*¹ and *powāhs*² or *dhuṅgedhārās*³ yet in the life of the Nepalese, the new architecture of the future would be

¹*Pātis* are wayside resting places with a roof over an open platform.

²*Powāhs* are akin to *dharmasālās* or community dormitories as in India.

³*Dhuṅgedhārās* are channelized spouts of water serving as taps with a shrine attached. They provide the public with drinking water, and serve also as public and open air bathing places and shrines at once.

mainly and increasingly concerned with the residential houses, public buildings, offices, theatres, cinema halls, hotels, restaurants, museums, rest houses and the like. If one takes, for instance, the case of building a residential house by a private individual, he would be guided by considerations of economy and utility as of primary importance, with durability coming as a close second, while he would not be insensitive to the feeling for beauty or aesthetics if he can help or afford it. The picture of a sleek and brightly coloured building with pleasingly broken lines, with ample living room and a patch of backyard to serve as a playground for the children or a kitchen garden for the housewife would dominate his imagination more than any consideration for the beauties of the varied complex of the architectural patterns around him, or whatever lessons he could draw from them or translate into practical shape.

The strong and weak points of the Nepalese architecture and its future are considered below :

(i) *Clay*.—The use of clay as a mortar in all Nepalese structures is at once a strong point and a weakness together. It is cheap and locally available and is easily procured, but it harbours moisture and imparts humidity to the living rooms besides encouraging the growth of plants. It also imparts moisture to the woodwork with which it remains inescapably in contact and this affects the solidarity of the structure deleteriously. The replacement of clay by cement or lime-cement as a combination mortar would remove the inherent weaknesses of the ancient medium, while the higher cost involved would be compensated for by the greater durability that it would bestow upon the structures in the long run.

The fact that a heavy layer of clay, often as thick as 45 cm., overlies the wooden framework of almost all structures immediately below the tiled roof is not easily grasped, for the clay remains invisible to the eye. It is no doubt used as a thick bar against leakage or rain water which naturally takes time to trickle through the thick mass. But the clay weighs heavily upon the framework below, besides encouraging the ingestion of moisture and transmitting all its harmful effects to the security of the structure.

The use of clay as a binding material was forced upon the Nepalese builders by the plastic and adhesive quality of the local clay and its abundance. Even when cement and lime were used in India, such materials were not easily available in Nepal. The clay mortar also may have greater elasticity than can be obtained from the use of cement or even the combination of lime and cement. The reasons for the continued prevalence of clay as mortar even in structures can be easily understood in this context.

(ii) *Wood*.—Wood has been used extensively in Nepalese architecture in a variety of ways, viz., as pillars and pilasters to support the super-structural roof together with a complex of beams, lintels, rafters, purlins, doors, windows and staircases, etc. In an earthquake zone such as Nepal, wood, which gives greater elasticity than structural walls, cannot perhaps be eliminated in any future plan for architecture. But its usefulness and durability can indeed be enhanced by the use of seasoned wood, and the prior

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treatment of all timber work for dry rot, insects or other diseases of wood. At present the facilities that Nepal commands for the seasoning of its wooden wealth is far too limited to meet the total requirements of the country. But in view of its obvious advantages, there is a strong case for initiating the process of seasoning wood in Nepal itself on an extensive scale. This is closely linked with the national policy on the development of forest and export of timber, but these are matters beyond the scope of this book.

Incidentally, the use of wood must have been dictated by the abundance of the material in the country, its easy availability and the elastic properties of the structures that were thus built with wood alone. Initially no doubt the walls may have been built of lighter material, viz., of twigs, leaves and even timber. For greater durability, the walls may have been built of stone and brick, but stone of suitable quality being less easily available and being difficult to adapt to a wooden structure, bricks were used instead on an extensive scale.

(iii) *Clay tiles*.—The fourth combination of traditional building materials is clay tiles. They are used for paving courtyards, tops of platforms and roofs. The tiles used for courts and platforms are usually square in shape and have a smooth bright red surface. They compare with the table brick tiles and have very sharp edges which make for close-knit joints requiring no pointing whatsoever. Though many people prefer to have flat roofs and terraces in modern structures, traditional gable roofs cannot be eliminated altogether in view of the heavy rainfall that Nepal witnesses and the cracky subsoil that would render solidly built structures prone to cracks. The flat roofs have not been much of a success so far as they often give in under the weight of accumulated waters. This difficulty, however, can be circumvented by providing proper slopes on open terraces or roofs and proper outlets and storm water drains. The small-sized tiles with close fitting lap joints in use even today are called *jhiṅgti* in the local language.

(iv) *Bricks*.—The bricks used in the structures can indeed be a great source of strength and beauty if standardized. It is, therefore, necessary to introduce the standardization of the shape and size of bricks and at the same time render them strong and sturdy in quality. In the mediaeval times it had been the practice to build the interior core of the walls with sun-dried clay bricks or even indifferently shaped and burnt bricks in clay mortar. The veneer of the exterior surface was invariably built of bright and very smoothly polished bricks of straight edges and regular shapes called *teḷiā* bricks. They are so called for their bright red terracotta colour, smooth and uniform texture, suggesting an oily surface. These bricks were used by the Mallas extensively. An attempt has been made to revive the use of such bricks and their standardization in the production that is now being carried out in the Chinese built brick factory in Kathmandu. Though presently the factory turns out more than six millions of bricks per day, the output is far too small to meet the requirements of the country. It is, however, a trend in the right direction that such bricks are being used extensively in modern structures.

(v) *Damp-proof course*.—One of the weaknesses of the ancient architecture of Nepal was the absence of a damp-proof course for the foundations, floors and walls. This obliged the structure to be made hollow-based with the idea of minimizing the effects of the rise of moisture by capillary action. Apart from being unhygienic as the hollow space under the floor harbours moisture and causes gases, not always conducive to good health, it means also the almost total waste of the ground floor space, leading to forced congestion in the supervening living floors. The use of the damp-proof course is now a simple device and its adoption would place a far more commodious space at the disposal of the inmates, besides making the houses warmer, pleasanter and more hygienic on the whole.

(vi) *Drainage*.—The absence of underground drainage or outlets from the enclosed quadrangles of private houses, monasteries and temples is a common problem, and initially would pose difficulties as it would mean digging of drains on a large scale and connecting them with the general system of sewage of the townships. This would need some planning and a good deal of collaboration between the town planners and the municipal or civic authorities.

(vii) *Lavatories*.—The absence of lavatories or bathrooms within the complex of houses in general enforced by reasons of economy, absence of arrangements of flowing water, not to speak of the over-riding dictates of cleanliness of the houses which is considered as a temple of God as well as of men together, constitutes a real hardship to the inmates especially in the cold weather. Considering the unhygienic conditions of waste waters accumulating in the by-lanes or in the courtyards, it can be clear to any that with modern amenities much more cleanliness can be achieved than simply by eliminating the most essential amenity belonging to any household. This belongs to the fields of sentiment and tradition alike, and the difficulties posed by the tenacious attachment to sentiments can be overcome by reorientation of thought and training. Therefore, with some additional outlay of expenditure, these amenities can be introduced for reasons of practical utility, if not for sheer modernism, by resorting to the use of septic tanks in the backyard, without drastically changing the architectural pattern of the houses and their general plans in any way. The long-term effects on the general cleanliness and the purification of the air surrounding the living areas cannot be over-emphasized.

(viii) *Dhuṅgedhārās*.—The days of the *dhuṅgedhārās* are indeed numbered, for they would require large-scale overhaul and cleaning up of the clogged passages of the underground channels, though Nepal will have need of them for quite some time yet. The *dhuṅgedhārās* can be kept in good repair as long as they continue to serve their purpose. They can also be maintained as a community institution by repairing them or installing them in otherwise inconvenienced and needy localities to serve the requirements of humbler folks, particularly in the rural areas or the outlying parts of the townships.

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Dhuṅgedhārās in miniature can indeed be erected even inside the bathrooms planned for the house of the future by reducing the gargoyle of the tap in size and camouflaging it suitable with *makara-dhārā*, not only to preserve the ancient tradition, but also to infuse the bathrooms with a pleasing and antiquarian novelty as also to retain their characteristic sanctity and therefore cleanliness, without the obligation to sacrifice one of the oldest institutions of Nepal.

(ix) *Flues for escape of gases*.—The absence of flues in the walls of the houses and the consequential use of the topmost floor for purposes of cooking can be counteracted by introducing chimneys within the structure suitably, and this innovation can be kept hidden from public view by inserting a false dormer window near its point of emergence with arrangements for heating the rooms on different floors by the introduction of fire places, as a result of which it would be possible to plan larger rooms, providing greater accomodation and higher comforts of living to the inmates. In all suitable cases the kitchen can also be brought down to the ground floor.

(x) *Exploitation of the strong points*.—While any minor weaknesses of the architecture of Nepal can be overcome by suitable adjustments, without changing the basic plan, or the outlines of structures or even the facade patterns, the strong points which make the Nepalese structures so attractive have to be properly and adequately exploited by suitable utilization in different varieties of structures.

(a) *Outlines*.—It is needless to emphasize the necessity of retaining the pleasing outlines of the tiled roofs of the structures, bequeathed to us by the past generations, far apart from the practical utility in disposing of the heavy downpour of the clouds, they serve, as though of a purpose, to simulate the outlines of the mountainous backdrop, at once merging and matching with it and even contrasting for effect by a gradation of shades.

(b) *Tiles*.—Like bricks, the tiles cannot be eliminated entirely from modern architecture and must also be standardized and made to conform to the sleek, close-fitting and streamlined pattern of the ancient roofs made of what goes in local parlance as *jhiṅgti*, as mentioned above.

(c) *Elegance of the facade and carved woodworks*.—For the sheer extent and elegance of the facade, made pleasingly attractive by the use of exquisitely carved decorative patterns worked out on all exposed surfaces of wood, viz., in the brackets (*tuṅāl*) tympanums (*torāṇa*), windows (*jhyāl*), doors (*dhokā*), lintels, balustrades and screens or even the beams that separate one floor from another and thus break the line and monotony. While it is an uphill and appallingly enormous task to retain and preserve all its ancient woodwork, for it is simply staggering by its volume and expanse and divergently advanced state of decayed preservation, it may perhaps be possible to adopt and retain the salient and perennial features of the ancient art in modern buildings suitably and transmit the same to posterity. It would also help to keep the otherwise dying skills of the art which are withering and must eventually disappear, unless it is reared by

provision of adequate scope of employment and increased use of the products through the timely adoption of the required steps in the right direction. It would serve also to retain the ancient styles of decoration and if it can be reclaimed from the limbo of decrepitude, it may be developed further and even improved upon research by and practical utilization. It is becoming increasingly difficult, for considerations of spiralling costs, for private individuals to encourage and help keep alive this essential aspect and tradition of Nepalese architecture. Nevertheless, there is still considerable scope to employ decorative patterns in wood in the form of brackets and windows. But in all public buildings these patterns may be judiciously and comprehensively utilized as much to retain the ancient tradition as to keep the traditional and yet attractive aspects of Nepalese architecture from total disappearance.

(d) *The hope for redemption.*—Nepal has brought into being, both officially and privately, many new buildings in recent years, but there are scarcely any, except the National Archives building (Rashtriya Abhilekhalaya on Ramshah Path) that are rooted in the soil and have exploited to any extent the ancient and traditional patterns of architecture. It may of course be conceded that there are several other buildings where Nepalese traditions have been combined with modern innovations in a spirit of unobtrusive reconciliation. It is sad indeed to see, nevertheless, the rise here and there of cement-plastered structures soaring into the sky, replacing the pristine form and pattern standing contrastingly in close juxtaposition to exquisitely beautiful specimens of ancient architecture about to totter to their fall, but somehow standing still in extreme agony at the moment of their last gasps for life. Does it not behove us all to lend a helping hand to keep alive the beauties of the past in any manner that we can help and save the basic character of the spiritually high living of Nepal? How can we have the heart to inflict cheap modernities on the dignity of the past? It is not the sentiment alone that claims the pride of place in our consideration. On the contrary it is the call of duty, utility, durability and sentiment together that cries for a halt in our thoughts of the future and let them linger on the values that make at once for elegance and long life. These values have been transmitted to us by our forbears with solicitude.

With a little forethought and normal respect for the permanent and practical aspects of the elegantly utilitarian architecture of Nepal, one needs sacrifice but little and yet command and commission the most modern amenities of life effectively and interiorly and thus preserve intact the basic as well as the extraneous character of the architecture of Nepal. While the interior may conform itself to the needs and means of command, the exterior can be made to conform to the patterns bequeathed by tradition. This should be possible for any planner or architect to be able to see the purpose of the creations of their ancient predecessors which, with their pleasing outlines, attractive colour-schemes, break-up of vertical lines, abstemious yet adequate decorations that modified and softened the hard lines without impinging themselves upon the eyes by their profusion and the receding gradations of soaring heights, have survived the ravages of several centuries and the onslaught of changing fashions. The lessons of the past are not to be consigned to oblivion but are amply insistent to compel

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and arrest the attention of posterity. As external symbols of the living patterns of Nepal, they are reflexive of her soul, even as "apparel oft proclaims the man".

As to the colour-scheme, the modern builders mainly take a cue from the practice in vogue even now. The colour of all Malla structures is a bright red of *telīā* bricks, broken and diversified by the dark shade of the woodwork and the bright colour of the golden finials rising over household or palace shrines. The mud plastered houses of the humble folks are either bright red or yellow, produced by a clayey pigment available on the soil itself and they provide in their location on different contours the much needed variety and brightness in the cool and monotonous embroidery of green, purple, blue or white that nature provides. The existing colour-scheme of the ensemble of humble houses in the countryside is as pleasing as the midly contrasting pattern of cattle or sheep grazing on the billowy green meadows of the English countryside, the intimate charm of which can never be lost upon anyone who has once beheld it, and has much in it to commend itself to the builders of the future. Must not man take the cue from nature, who herself is such a master artificer that as a compensation for the drab monotony of her moodily austere aspect she produces the bright red rhododendrons or the grey and rarely seen marks of the speck of violet on the gaunt brown-wastes or sands, even though sparingly, and weaves her impulses into the incidence of man that create the heart-throb cheerful like the rainbow against an evening sky?

One can only pray for the continued prosperity of the architectural patterns of Nepal, and hope that their future would be as bright as the past.

In order to understand the rich architectural heritage which the Nepalese have created, and imbibed, it would be desirable to be familiar with the lie of the land, its hills, valleys, rivers and plains, the diversity of the peoples who dwelt in the area, the languages they spoke, and the religious beliefs they evolved or believed in, and the history they carved out for themselves. To these we must now turn.

CHAPTER II

GEOGRAPHICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

A. INTRODUCTORY

There is scarcely any country more interesting than Nepal. In a poet's imagery, as in practice, she is comparable to the crowning jewel of the mighty Himalayas : The Abode of Snows where dwells Siva—Mahadeva and protects the lands that spread towards the south with his benign grace. What with the landscape and the peoples, the climate and the crops, the gods and festivals, the costumes and jewellery, the history and culture, the languages and literature and her art and architecture, her coins and inscriptions, her flora and fauna, the charms of the land are endless. But above everything else and yet permeating every aspect of the lives of the people in Nepal, and supervening the life itself is the profound devotion of the Nepalese people to the gods. Far in the mountain peaks, and caves, valleys and plains, dwell the gods assuming the forms of a diverse assemblage of deities that have come down from heaven to be amid their votaries. These beckon and ennoble the soul of man at once by their magnificent charm and mighty challenge. All these have been in comparative obscurity, somewhat in a self-imposed isolation, in the process of history, until almost the other day. And then, when as though by a revolution, the shackles were torn apart, the barriers broken, the flood-gates of far greater contacts with fellow human beings from all parts of the world were thrown open, Nepal came into her own and took her rightful place in the comity of nations. Nepal's history and civilization, and her very soul are now greatly revealing themselves to kindred spirits and responding to the soft and sympathetic touch of the proper chord in the heart.

B. PHYSICAL FEATURES

One of the biggest factors in shaping Nepal's destiny, as of any other country has been her geography, throughout history. The mountains have presented barriers that have made the people hardy in the course of their ceaseless efforts to overcome them.

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And the uneven grounds have toughened the physique as well as the spirit. The geographical configuration of Nepal has enabled her to build up her own pattern of life.

While the geographical features have imposed isolation, they have inevitably led to contacts with the neighbours, resulting in impacts that have shaped the pattern of cultures and the supervening civilization that emerged and flowered in the land.

The lie of the land (fig. 1) is oriented slightly north-northwest and east-south-east, and it runs to a length of 800 kilometers (500 miles) over a width of 240 kilometers (150 miles). Bordered on the north by the plateau of Tibet in the People's Republic of China, it is bounded by the districts of Almora and Nainital in the west, Pilibhit, Kheri, Bahraich, Gonda, Gorakhpur, Basti and Deoria, all in U.P., and the districts of Champaran, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Bhagalpur and Purnea, in Bihar, in the south and Sikkim and the Siliguri sub-division of district Darjeeling (W. Bengal) in the east. In many respects Nepal shares the geographical features of the Himalayan and sub-Himalayan parts of India and correspondingly comparable environments of climates of the sub-continent.

The lie and axis of the terrain divide the country broadly into 5 parallel zones beginning with : (i) a cis-Himalayan plateau in the north followed by (ii) the Himalayan ranges forming the world's tallest mountains including Mount Everest and the almost impassable barriers on the northern part of the country, (iii) the valleys of the intermediate region known by the blanket term of the Midland valleys, (iv) the ranges of the Mahabharat hills (Lekh) rising upto 3,658 metres (12,000 ft.) and the ranges of the Siwalik hills and rising higher than 2,438 metres (8,000 ft.) and separated from the former and still higher ranges by the discontinuous valleys of Chitawan, Rapti and Dang, and lastly the plains of the Terai which on an average rest on a height of 305 metres (1000 ft.) above the mean sea level and are about 28-32 kilometers (18-20 miles) in width. The mountains account for nearly 68% of the landed area while the Terai plains cover about 17%, the remaining 15% being covered by the intermediate valleys between the mountains and the hills.

As to the origin of the land mass, many reasons have been advanced. Broadly speaking, without recourse to technical jargon, the Himalayan region is said to have been a lake or, more correctly, a sea in the oldest days. As a result of tectonic movements, the Himalayan mountains shot up from the bowels of the earth and emerged above the waters of the sea, driving a wedge through the waters to separate them into a sea to the north and another to the south. This phenomenon is calculated to have taken place about 70,000,000 years ago. The situation lingered on for many thousands of years until another upheaval brought about a still further rise in the height of the mountains. This happened about 6,000,000 years ago. The rivers that had come into existence flowed over the slopes of the mountains to the north and south and depositing their silts at the points of their contact with the seas. Time rolled on and further tectonic movements brought about the rise of the Mahabharat and Siwalik complex of

hills and the sinking of the Himalayas. As a result of these changes, the waters got impounded in the intermediate land between the ranges of hills or mountains and great hills came into existence. In course of time the waters found their way out of the valleys by cutting a passage through the hills. The lake around Kathmandu is said to have dried up in this process about 200,000 years ago. This phenomenon must be characteristic of all the waters that had been entrapped, and, as a result, mighty rivers emerged draining the land and bringing into existence the valley of Kathmandu and spreading fertile silts in their respective valleys through which they ran their course to the sea.

In fact, the Buddhists attribute the phenomenon of the draining of the lake around Kathmandu to Mañjuśrī who is believed by tradition to have hailed from China and cut a passage for the waters to flow down the valley. As a result of Mañjuśrī's intercession the valley emerged and made life and settlement possible. The deep cleft at Chobhar on the way to Dakshin Kali from Kathmandu is devotedly indicated as the relic of the exploit of Mañjuśrī.

The Hindus in a similar way attribute the achievement to Pradyumna, the son of Krishna, in a far off age leading to the evolution of the valley. The two traditions believe commonly in the theory of the lake anciently covering the area and the midland valley and the habitable land mass emerging as a result of the escape of the waters attributed to superhuman endeavours.

For administrative purpose, the vast expanse of Nepal has been presently divided into 14 zones (fig. 1) containing 75 districts which form the units of administration. The larger number of zones are named after the rivers which drain them or form their natural boundaries. These are called the Mahakali, Seti, Karnali, Bheri, Rapti, Gandaki, Bagmati, Narayani, Kosi and Mechi. The others viz., Dhaulagiri, Lumbini, Janakpur and Sagarmatha, derive their names from the well known mountain peaks, the birth place of Buddha, and the seat of Janaka, the seer king and father of Sita, respectively. Sagarmāthā, the Nepalese name of Mount Everest, is a matter of great pride for all Nepalese. The name also recalls the old anecdote of the curse of the sage Kapila upon Sagara and his descendants and their ultimate redemption from the nether regions by the mighty effort of Bhagiratha who succeeded in bringing down the river Ganga on earth. The crown of the Himalayas has, therefore, been aptly called the Sagarmāthā as representing the opposite end of the subterranean sojourn of Sagara and thereby emphasising by contrast the enormous height of Mt. Everest. The division of the country is on the basis of natural boundaries and yet it serves the purpose of fostering national pride in the river or mountain or Buddha or Sita, as the case may be, with which any particular area may be associated. Some of these zones, viz., Mahākālī, Seti, Sagarmāthā, Kosi, and Mechi represent a cross-section of every aspect of the country's geography and ethnology at once fostering an overall national outlook.

The river Mahākālī which rises in the southern slopes of the Himalayas forms the western boundary of Nepal and flows into India as Sarda (Sārādā) and joins up with the

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Ghargharā, itself a tributary of the Ganga, a little below Bahraich in U.P. The Mahākālī and Sārādā are respectively the names of goddesses. Mahākālī is the destructive aspect of Durga. It is to be noted that the worship of the goddess is widely prevalent in the Kumaon and Garhwal area in India and the sub-Himalayan areas of Nepal. The use of this name may, therefore, be attributed to the grace of the goddess. Besides, the waters of the river are somewhat dark in colour which easily suggests the name and the appellation *Mahā* (great) is affixed to it to indicate its mighty size as well as to distinguish it from the small river Kālī in the Pokhara region of Nepal. Sārādā is a name for Sarasvatī, the river *par excellence* of the Vedic Aryans, and stands generally for the name of any river as a generic term.

The Karṇālī, one of the mighty rivers of Nepal, results from the combination of several rivers comprising the Seti, Buḍhigaṅga, Kumāri, Humlā Karṇālī, Dozam, Mughu Karṇālī, Tanke, Langu, Sija, and the group of Bherī rivers flows through a major part of W. Nepal covering the Karnalī, Seti and Bheri zones and emerges into India near Kaurila Ghat in the Lakhimpur (Kheri) district of U.P. The rivers of this group rise in the Himalayan regions, except for Humlā Karṇālī which rises a little to the south-west of the Rakas lake in Tibet. The river flows from the north-west to the south-east from the point of its emergence into India and joins the Ganga under the Indian name of Ghaghara (Ghargharā) near Saran (Dist. Chhapra) in Bihar, having drained through or flown along the borders of Gonda, Barabanki, Faizabad, Basti, Azamgarh and Gorakhpur districts of U.P. Some of the names of the various rivers of this group are significant. Seti owes its name to the whitish colours of the waters resulting from a mixture of lime-stone, and Bherī (kettle drum) indicates the loud noise it makes as it flows down the ravines. The idea of music accompanying the flow of rivers is also conveyed by the name of Karṇālī, derivable from *karṇāla*, which in Nepalese means an ear-shaped instrument of music recalling a trumpet with the broader end resembling the ear (*karna*). The sense of a noisy river is also conveyed by the Indian name of Ghargharā which is the onomatopoeic name of a bell that makes a gurgling sound and the name, therefore, is aptly suggestive. It is interesting to know that the township of Surkhet lends support to the rivers being connected with melody (*sura*), or alternatively that the land, *kshetra* (khet), of the gods (*sura*) and music is one of the means of supplication to and propitiation of the gods. And in the Aryan conception, sound (*nāda*) and *Brahma* (the Supreme Reality) are identical.

One of the streams of this mighty river, namely, the Humlā Karṇālī rises a little to the south-west of lake Rakas adjacent to Manassarovar.

The Rapti rises to the north of the Mahabharat Lekh and after a zigzag course, first flowing from the west to the east and then from the east to the west and then, after a bend, from the east to the west, it emerges a little to the east of Nepalganj in the Bheri zone, and flowing in the south-easterly direction through the Bahraich and Gonda districts of U.P. and along the borders of Basti and Gorakhpur districts, mingles its waters with those of the Ghargharā a little to the west of Bairahaj. The name Rapti is

obviously an abbreviation of Irāvati which is another name of Sarasvati, the river *par excellence* of the Vedic Aryans. It also means the earth, pointing to the heavy contents of clay or water, indicating the large volume of silt carried by it. Varuna, Vishnu and Ganesa are each known as Irāvatiśa, or the lord of Irāvati, clearly indicating the association of the river with the land of the gods.

Further east, the mighty Nārāyaṇī combines the waters of the Kālī (Kṛishṇa), Gaṇḍakī, Marsyangḍī, Māḍī and Trīśūlī and flows down as the combined stream of Nārāyaṇī between the Mahabharat Lekh and the Siwaliks. Also alternatively called the Saptagandaki, it finally emerges into India at Triveni Ghat at the border of Champaran district of Bihar, near Bhainsa Lotan, where the Gandak Barrage has been built, and flowing along the borders of the Champaran, Saran and Muzaffarpur districts of Bihar, it joins with the Ganga, a little to the east of Patna.

Though it has not been established as to why the river has been called Gaṇḍakī, surmise as to its significance has touched sulphur from some occasional deposits of sulphur in the valley watered by the river or the rhinoceros (*gaṇḍaka*) which lives on the hill slopes rising away from the valley. It has also been guessed, probably with reason, that the name may have been derived from word *gaṇḍa* used in the local dialect for the course of water. The word Gaṇḍakī also actually means the *śālagrāmaśilā* which is a fossilised black stone and is revered by the Hindus as an aniconic image of Vishnu himself, and in this context both the names Gandaki and Narayani have been aptly adopted as the names of the same river. It is interesting to consider that Nārā means waters, and Nārāyaṇa is the name of Lakshmi; and the river is probably to be taken as the flowing form of Lakshmī herself. In its final stage in the plains of Nepal and then through the plains of India, it assumes a mighty shape, particularly during the monsoons, and brings about extensive ravages on either bank, changing its course and swallowing up vast stretches of fertile lands and covering others with infructuous sands. For years in the past it has veritably been the woe of those living in the valleys near its course. But in India it assumes its ancient name of Gaṇḍakī.

The Bagmati rises in the hill slopes to the north of Kathmandu, lying immediately to the north of the Mahabharat Lekh, and it flows southwards, merging into India to the west of Sitamarhi. It merges ultimately with the Buḍhi Gaṇḍak, having flown through the Muzaffarpur, Saharsa and Munger districts of Bihar, and joins the Ganga to the west of Munger. The Bagmati is one of the most sacred rivers of Nepal as the Pasupati temple stands on its western bank, in the region sacred to Vasuki. The Bagmati may refer etymologically to the word Sarasvati and may thus stand simply for a river, or recall the music it raises while flowing over boulders and pebbles. This conception is reminiscent of the derivation of the names of Karṇālī, Bherī or the Ghargharā.

Draining the eastern part of the Nepal is yet another large group of rivers that flow down as Sapta Kośī or 7 Kośī rivers, recalling the appellation Sapta Gaṇḍakī or

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Sapta Sindhu of hoary tradition. One principal river of this group, viz., the Sun rises in the east-central Tibet, and as it flows down across the Himalayas and mountainous regions and valleys, gathers the swelling waters of a large number of tributaries comprising the Tamur from the north-east and the series of Kosi rivers from the north-west. The other principal river, the Sun-Kosi, rises in the Tibetan plateau, enters into Nepal near Kodari, and gathering the waters of the Indravatī to the east of Kathmandu, flows towards the east, where a series of rivers from the Himalayan belt join it at different points all along its course till it joins up with the Arun, almost at a tri-junction with the Tamur and the combined waters flow down together as the Sapta Kōśī. The word Kōśī is no doubt derived from the word *kośa* which simply means treasures or wealth which the rivers really imply for any country.

The Sapta Kōśī enters India a little to the west of Biratnagar in District Saharsa and after flowing through the districts of Saharsa, Bhagalpur and Purnea, the latter two in Bihar, joins with the Ganga to the west of Katihar.

The river Mechi which forms the eastern boundary of Nepal flows down through the eastern districts of Bihar and joins up with the Ganga. The name has no doubt something to do with the blue-black colour of the waters indicated by the word *mechaka*, and generally with a river from the epithet *mechakapāga* applied to the river Yamuna.

The numerous midland valleys separated from one another by ridges and low gorges correspond to the principal rivers, and from the west to east, they are known as the Chauria, Seti, Karnali, Bheri, Rapti, Kali Gandaki, Kathmandu, Sun Kōśī, Arun and Tamur valleys, respectively. Civilization has grown in these central valleys and has remained sheltered from the conflicts of the south and much less so of the north, by the mountains and hills which have presented formidable barriers, though they have not prevented philosophic ideas or religious concepts from flowing in or out of it.

The river system no doubt provided the means of communication between India and Nepal from the most ancient times, notwithstanding the hazards of the rapids or swamps on either bank or the belt of forests that grew close to the rivers' edge. The first were infested with wild animals in the past as now, and the swamps were an ideal breeding ground for numerous disabling diseases. But these could scarcely have deterred the dauntless spirit of man.

The hills themselves provided passage across them at two points, viz., at Tansen north of Butwal, and Bhairhwa in the Lumbini Anchāl in west-central Nepal and at Dhankuta on the Kosi system in eastern Nepal. These developed early into trade centres and served also as sentinels to the principal gateways from the direction of India. The lower ranges of hills enclosed the two large valleys of Dang-Deokhuri and Chitawan, which may well have served as intermediate stations between the hills of the midland and the Ganga plains of India. The plains of the Terai do not form a continuous belt in Nepal for the hills which come too close to the border separate the Terai into 3 sectors, viz., western, central and eastern, respectively. The Siwaliks run along

the border to the south of Dang and Chitawan (*Chitra-vana* or picturesque forest) and the loss of the plains in Terai in this part is as though compensated for by nature itself through the insertion of the valleys enclosed by hills or what it is called in Nepal as the Bhitari Madesa or inner Madhya Desa. The age-old trade routes on which pedestrians with their loads of merchandise of a variety went up and down between Nepal and India tears the Nepalese borders at several points viz., Janakpur, Dhangarhi, Rajpur, Nepalganj, Jarwa, Bhairhwa, Raxaul (Birganj), Jayanagar and Biratnagar from the south, while some routes also penetrated in to Nepal from the western as well as eastern flanks. From the northern side, however, there were three main routes or passes.

These southern trade routes again connected up with the routes leading across the difficult passes and saddles over the Himalayas to Tibet piercing the northern border at a number of points following the valleys of rivers and glaciers. The principal passes opened up the northern flank of Nepal and provided gateways at Urai La, beyond the source of the Seti, Namja La above the source of Mugu Karnālī, Nyangpa La, above Namche and to the west of Mount Everest, besides the three others mentioned earlier. And all along the northern frontier is a series of mountain valleys that run mainly from the west to the east following the strike of the mountains and running along the rivers that flow through them, and are at an elevation of between 2,400 and 5,000 metres. All these valleys are surrounded by ice-clad mountains. The sustained villages and townships have sizeable populations, which comprise mainly of the Bhotes, Thakkalis, and the Sherpas, all speaking different dialects of the Tibetan language. These valleys comprise Humla, Mugu, Langu, Dolpo, Thakkhola, Langtang, Mustang, Manang, Kutang, Kyirong, Rongshar, Khumbu, Karma and Lumba Sumba. Of these, the Thakkhola and Langtang alone have a north-to-south axis. The valleys are generally fertile and yield several cereals that have sustained the inhabitants and led to their prosperity.

The grandeur of the snow-capped peaks of the Himalayas is bewitchingly indescribable and lends charm of inestimable height to the landscape of the country. Even the names of the peaks and lakes and rivers that belong together in this region speak volumes for the reverence and delight that they have eternally liberated to mankind standing in amazement. Mount Kailas supposed to be the abode of Siva, overlooks the Manas Sarovar which has given rise to the life-giving waters of the Sutlej (Satadru), the Brahmaputra and the Karnali that have sustained large parts of northern India, Nepal and the eastern parts of India. They have something inscrutable and divine about them, and are part of the cultural and geographical heritage of Nepal. Within the borders of Nepal itself and the peaks of Dhaulagiri or Dhavalagiri (the mountain white with effulgence), Māchhāpuchahhare (the tail of the fish), Annapūrṇā (gatherer of food and sustenance), Gosain Than, Gauri-Sankar (Śiva-Pārvati), the Mount Everest (Sagarmāthā the crown of Sagara of hoary mythology) and Kanjchandzonga (five great repositories of snow)¹, are the visual representatives of man's wishful thoughts, related to an extent to the realities.

The names of Janakpur and Lumbini, like the names of rivers and hills, indicate the deep religious proclivities of the Nepalese people.

¹It is spelt thus according to tibetan phonetics : *gñas chen mzod lña*.

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One of the principal handicaps that have hampered the growth of a full life among the people living in the different parts of the divergent terrains of Nepal, has been the lack of roads for vehicular traffic. This phenomenon has now been overcome to an extent by the roads that have been constructed and by others that are rapidly coming up, providing Nepal, with essential life lines of the modern age.

The soils in this valley and in the plains of the Terai are extremely fertile and yield rice and wheat in ample measure, while the hill-slopes are fit to grow a variety of suitable crops. The natural fertility of the soil is enhanced by the heavy monsoon rains that pour down from the clouds that desiccate as they strike against the Himalayas. The forests of the hills are rich in timber including sal, khair, and teak, while the higher regions yield softer timber of manifold usefulness.

The climate too is widely divergent. From the extreme cold and dry belt of the northern plateau and inner Himalayan regions to the wet and moist tropical climate of the Terai, there are varying shades of temperate climate in the intermediate regions. It is no wonder, therefore, that people of varying complexion and constitution would inhabit such divergent situations.

C. THE PEOPLE AND THE LANGUAGES

The people of Nepal¹ are broadly divisible into two main racial strains, viz., the Mongoloid and the Indo-Nepalese stocks. Their history and the close interweaving of the populace inhabiting the same areas, and a common cultural heritage have welded them together into one united people. The Mongoloid people comprising the Bhotes, Sherpas, Rais, Limbus, Takhus, Tamangs, Newars, Gurungs, and the Magars, while the Indo-Aryan people comprising the numerous groups conforming to the castes prevalent among the Hindus as in India and the tribal people called the Tharus, besides the numerous minor and rather primitive tribes. As yet, scientific studies of the peoples comprising the body politic of Nepal have not been undertaken comprehensively. Only a few people viz., the Sherpas,² Newars³ and Tharus⁴ have been studied in some detail but the others, except for sporadic and limited studies, remain to be dealt with comprehensively.

It is, however, known that the Mongoloid people speak one or other branch or dialect of the monosyllabic Tibetan-Burman language group. The *Bhotes* including the Sherpas live along the northern borders of Nepal. The term Bhot itself is derived from the word Bhot which in Nepali means Tibet. The *Sherpas*, who have received worldwide reputation as hardy mountaineers, live largely in the Sholu Khumbu district of the Sagarmatha zone. They practise Buddhism as their religion and are no doubt influenced considerably by the Tibetan form of Buddhism which has retained intact the

¹Dor Bahadur Bisht, *People of Nepal*, Calcutta, 1967.

²C. von Fuehrer-Haimendorf : *The Sherpas of Nepal : Buddhist Highlanders*, London, 1964.

³Gopal Singh Nepali, *The Newars*, Bombay, 1965.

⁴W. Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of North-Western India*, Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1896; S.K. Srivastava *The Tharus : A Study in Cultural Dynamics*, Agra, 1958.

basic philosophy and kernel of the faith more than many other accredited adherents of Buddhism.

The *Thakals*, who count among the Tibetan speaking peoples, dwell in the Thak-khola region on the northern border of central Nepal in the Dhaulagiri zone. The Thakals are good tradesmen and are especially adept as hoteliers. The trade between India and Tibet, and between Nepal and Tibet, is largely handled by the *Thakals*. The *Sherpas* have earned the reputation as mountaineering guides and porters, and otherwise engage themselves in trade of all kinds.

The *Tamangs* are believed to have hailed originally from Tibet, though it is not known how long ago. The name is a Tibetan word meaning horse trader and must have been applied to them in consideration of the fact that they had anciently traded in horses. They had chosen the area between Trisuli and the Buḍhi Gaṇḍakī rivers on the southern fringe of Ganesh Himal in the Gandaki zone as their home in Nepal, after leaving Tibet. Being driven to desperation for a living, many of them have moved away from their old habitat and are today to be found in and around Kathmandu and even in the Terai, working as porters or odd jobmen of sorts. They are adherents of the Tibetan form of Buddhism. They dress in loincloth which is quite distinctive.

A number of other people viz., the *Lhonis*, dwelling in the Arun valley in E. Nepal in the Sankhuwa Sabha district, the *Shivas* of the Tamur valley living in E. Nepal, the *Lopas* of Mustang, and the *Dolpos* of the Dolpo valley are the other people of this group. All these people live contiguously with either the Bhotes or Sherpas relatively to the south of the people living on the borders.

The most important people of the Mongoloid group are of course the *Newars* whose original home was the Kathmandu valley. It continues to this day to be their central home though the exigencies of living have dispersed them in all parts of Nepal. They speak the Newari language and practise both Hinduism and Buddhism without any substantial divergence, on the contrary with significant overlaps. During the mediaeval period, it was a Newari chieftain who ruled in the central area of Kathmandu under the dynastic name of the Mallas. They are industrious and keen and expert craftsmen engaging themselves in all manner of crafts and are otherwise mainly traders. Their peasantry, known as *Jyāpus*, carry out a distinctive method of cultivation by hand using only a spade for digging and turning the soil, there being little space for the movement of animals for purposes of ploughing on the thin strips of terraces on the hilly slopes. The peasants are among the richest cultivators in the whole country.

The magnificent monuments and temples in brick and stone, sculptures of stone, woodwork, bronze and other metals, and remains of paintings on the walls, banners of silk or paper or as illustrations on manuscripts, for which Nepal is famous, owe themselves to the handiwork of the Newars through the centuries and are the richest testimony to their artistry, skill, diligence and craftsmanship.

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Not negligent of their native mother tongue, Newari, they adopted Sanskrit for literary expression with a flourish and used this language mainly for their inscriptional records alongside the Newari version. One of the most remarkable among the Malla kings, viz., Pratapamalla, who ruled in the 17th century in Kathmandu, distinguished himself in this language as a poet and described himself as such in his records. All the religious literature of the Newars, as of the others in general, other than those of the Bhotes, Sherpas and Tamangs, is in Sanskrit, recognised as the language of the gods (*deva bhāshā*). The Newari inscriptions are stated to be in the *deśa bhāshā* or the language of the land.

The southern flank of the Himalayas and the midland valleys of the Mahākālī and Karnālī were anciently colonised by a people called the *Khas*, who are supposed to have ruled over an extensive territory from their capital at Kartripur near Nainital in U.P. in India. They were shepherds of Aryan stock to begin with and spoke an Indo-Aryan dialect. In the course of their contact with the Brahmins, they acquired the status of Kshatriyas and came to be called the Khatris. Though confined to the west in the beginning, they spread away to the eastern borders and even beyond to Sikkim and Darjeeling. In course of time, they developed their language called *Khaskurā* or *Parvatīya*, which is known as Nepali and has become the state language of Nepal. This language influenced even the Mongoloid people in the hills and the midland valleys and by and large even some of these adopted the Nepali language completely. As a political entity, the *Khas* people themselves were overwhelmed later by the *Thakuris* ruling from Gorkha, who, as time advanced, spread their sway over the whole of Nepal, unifying all the peoples into one nation. The midland region in the west of present day Nepal was, therefore, the early home of the *Indo-Nepalese peoples*, who gradually spread eastwards and accommodated themselves amidst the Mongoloid people living further to the north and even moved on to the southern parts, often under pressure, including the slopes of the Mahābhārata and Siwalik hills and the intermediate valleys enclosed by them.

The Brahmins easily became the dominant group among them, through intellectual power, though the Kshatriyas wielded the real political power through physical prowess and mettle. The society came to be divided among numerous castes sustaining the communal economy and division of labour on the pattern prevailing further south and west in India.

The western flank of Nepal in the midland zone was inhabited by the Kumaoni people who still speak their dialect. They are confined to the Mahākālī zone of W. Nepal.

The *Magars*, a Mongoloid folk, have the area to the south and west of the Dhaulagiri range in the valley of the Marsyangdi as their central home, spreading as far south as Palpa (Tansen) covering all the hill districts of the Lumbini, Rapti and Bheri zones. Today they occupy a large area encompassing the northern hills of the Dhaulagiri, Gaṇḍakī, Bheri, Rapti and Lumbini zones. Their language of Tibeto-

Burman origin is deeply influenced by the Nepali language but has, nevertheless, a distinctive place of its own. Though mainly living by agriculture, they have distinguished themselves as soldiers from the times of king Prithvinarayana Shah and have been the largest source of recruitment of Gurkha soldiers in the British and Indian armies. Like all other people of Nepal, they are endogamous, scarcely marrying outside their clan. In religion they are mainly Hindus, though socially they do not have a caste structure. Their womenfolk wear heavy jewellery, including large disc-like ear-ornaments. These ornaments are almost distinctive and characteristic of them.

The *Gurungs*, another Mongoloid group, are the eastern neighbours of the *Magars* and lived originally in the hill districts of the Gaṇḍakī zone. They have spread outwards a little and principally occupy river valleys of the Buḍhī Gaṇḍakī, Kālī Gaṇḍakī and Marsyangdi in the Dhaulagiri and Gaṇḍakī zones. Baglung in Dhaulagiri zone is one of their main centres. They speak a Tibeto-Burman dialect considerably coloured by the Nepali language, but only a little less so than the dialect of the *Magars*. Though they carry out agriculture and tend sheep and goats in their villages, they are principally soldiers by profession, having fought traditionally in the armies of the Gorkhas. Together with the *Magars*, they have contributed substantially to the Gurkha regiments of the Indian and British armies. As in the case of *Magars*, their role in the foreign legions has changed their habits and standards of living as well as their attitude towards the essential professions of domestic or village economy, to which they had been traditionally accustomed. In religion they are largely Hindus though some sections practise Lamaistic Buddhism. Their womenfolk dress traditionally and wear among other ornaments flower-shaped ear-studs, which distinguish them from their *Magar* sisters. The *Gurungs* are very vivacious and are very fond of music and dancing.

The *Kirāntis*, believed to be among the original dwellers of Nepal, even in the Kathmandu valley, are today divided into three groups of people, viz., the *Rāis*, *Limbus* and *Yakhus*, and inhabit the eastern parts of Nepal, the hill districts and midland valleys. Also of Mongoloid extraction, they have built up their own ways of life. They speak a Tibeto-Burman language called Kiranti.

The *Rāis* live in what is known as Majh Kirant, the middle Kirant country in the Dudhkosi and Arun valleys covering the districts of Solu Khumbu, Okhaldhunga, Khotang, Bhojpur and Udaipur in the Sagarmatha zone. It appears that they had been pushed away from their more northerly habitats by the Sherpas in recent times. The *Rāis* are handsome and brave and have also fought traditionally in the armies. Agriculture is their principal occupation, and they own and till their lands themselves. Service in the Gurkha regiments of foreign armies accounts for the profession of a large number of these people. Though they believe in local deities, the *Rāis* revere equally the gods of the Hindus as of the Lamaistic pantheon and exemplify the characteristic eclecticism of religious synthesis prevailing in the country.

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Peculiarly, the *Rāis* bury their dead and erect a stone table called *chautārā* as a memorial to the dead. This is reminiscent of a practice prevalent among the Nagas and some other tribes in the eastern central India and recalls the tradition of a world-wide megalithic culture of which ample trace has been found throughout India, especially in the south. Though not explored systematically some parts of W. Nepal too have yielded relics of this nature. Nearer to the habitat of the *Rāis*, some megalithic remains have been found recently near Kalimpong in India. This phenomenon is extremely interesting in a world context and would call for a joint ethno-archaeological investigation as a search for man's cultural links dispersed extensively and expansively in the sub-continent.

The *Limbus* live further to the east, in the region that is locally called Pallo Kirant, or distant Kirant, between the Arun river and eastern border in the Mechi zone. They differ only slightly in the dialect from the *Rais*. Their religion is akin to that of the *Rāis*. Like the *Rāis*, they also bury the dead but they erect a monument in the form of a chamber built up of stone, laid down in the ground and plastered up with cement as a tomb. It is reminiscent of the megalithic practice of the earlier times. The recent discovery of an urn burial reported from near Dhankuta, an account of which was published in the *Gorkha Patra*, Kathmandu, lends support to the surmise. Though principally cultivators, they are brave fighters and stand next only to the *Magars* and *Gurungs* in the Indian and British Gurkha Regiments alongside their Rai brethren.

Closely akin to the *Rāis* and *Limbus*, is the third group of the *Kirāti* people known as *Yakhus*, living in the Therathum district.

The *Indo-Nepalese folks*, more akin to the Indians than to the hill folks further north, live in the Terai area and speak mainly dialects of Hindi, viz., Awadhi in the west and Bhojpuri in the east, using the standard language (*Khari Boli*) as a means of genteel expression of the educated classes in speech as well as in literary expression. In the region around Janakpur, to the north of Darbhanga in N. Bihar, people speak the Maithili language and also use it in literary expression in addition to Hindi. All these people have a social system patterned on that of the people living across the borders in India, for obvious reasons.

But a very interesting group of people who live all along the upper areas of the Terai in the midst of jungles and foot-hills where they have made clearances for living as well as cultivation, shunning civilized society or sometimes coming closer to the south, wherever they are not connected directly with the civilized man, are the *Thārus*. They are, however, more concentrated in the west and centre than the east of the whole region and extend further to the west in the Terai of the U.P. They are supposed to be the oldest inhabitants of the Terai. Attempts have been made to derive their name from the Sanskrit word *sthala*, meaning place, through the intermediate forms of *thala* and *thara*. The interpretation is not likely to carry conviction. Though the *Thārus* of Nepal have not been studied enough, it is clear that they have Mongoloid

features, though they are distinct from the Mongoloid people of the hills in physique, being stronger and more muscular. The *Thārus* to the west of Nepal, living now in the Indian Terai of U.P., have received some attention at the hands of the Indian scholars and they have been held to be of Mongoloid extraction. Yet their language, a mixture of Hindi, Urdu and Nepali, besides Awadhi, Bhojpuri and Maithili, and their traditional costume, particularly in W. Nepal, accord well with the theory of their origin in Rajasthan. The *Thāru* women have adopted as their dress the most sophisticated *sārī* in the style of the civilized people. The menfolk, however, are content to wear a loincloth and there is a general preference among men and women for the white colour in their apparel. They are largely farmers and occasionally supplement farming with fishing or hunting. They live in mud-plastered houses as joint families. In their marriage ties, they are endogamous and worship their traditional local deities though they are otherwise votaries of the Hindu gods and goddesses as well.

The story commonly told about the *Thārus* is that they are the offspring of the noble women of Rajasthan, who had been brought by their menfolk for safety and security in the face of the Muslim invasion, and of their servants to whose care they had been left behind by the men when they returned to their ancestral household for bringing back money after having settled all their accounts, etc., in the mediaeval period, but had failed to return. Meanwhile, the noble women took their servants as their husbands and the present generation of *Thārus* are the descendants of these ancestral unions. This theory has neither been proved nor disproved. In support of the probability of this theory, the practice of the *Thāru* menfolk addressing their women as *Rāni* (queen) is often adduced.

The areas inhabited by the *Thārus* are not merely fertile but also commodious enough to accommodate much larger populations. In view of the inherent advantage of the *Thāruwats*, i.e., the *Thāru* settlements or villages, large numbers of landless settlers from the hills are being settled in the area by the Department of Rehabilitation, H.M.G., Nepal. This step is expected to revolutionize the economy of the *Thārus* as well as of the new settlers and bring the benefits of civilization to the very door-steps of the *Thārus* and enable them to have an equal share in the rapid all round development taking place in Nepal as co-parceners. Before the change advances far and the distinct character of the *Thārus* is ironed out as the inevitable consequence in the course of the march of time, it will be a concession indeed to historical and ethnological records to undertake comprehensively the study of the way of their living before they are modified beyond recognition. In fact, all the different groups of people living in Nepal need to be studied before long in a purely academic and objective interest.

In spite of the diversity of the dialects and languages prevailing in the country, Nepali of the Thakuris, unifiers of Nepal, has superseded all the rest. And it is now being spoken by 50% of the population as their mother-tongue and has been adopted as the State language. It is a language of comparatively recent origin and growth as the

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earliest known record in the language goes back to 1256 Śaka era¹. This inscription of king Puṇyamalla partly in Sanskrit and partly in Nepali was found near Dullu and dates from A.D. 1334. It shows that the study and pursuit of Sanskrit had reached a high watermark of development, while Nepali was still in its formative stage. This is not to be wondered at for this development was no doubt the result of the combination of diverse linguistic groups who had by this time migrated into the area. Besides, the king claims to have defeated the kings of Koṇkan, Kaṛṇāṭa, Lata, Murala, Kerala, Dahala, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaṭiṅga, Mithilā, Mālava, Nepālā, Gurjara, Jalandhara and Āndhra. Shorn of hyperbole it indicates extensive contacts with diverse groups of people among whom the study of Sanskrit was prevalent. The inscription mentions Syangja as the capital city. The second record in question is in the form of a gold-plated inscription of king Puṇyamalla of Syangja in W. Nepal² dated 1278 Śaka. It was also the language of the Thakuris or the Gorkhas, having evolved out of the mixture of the language of the Rajput noblemen who had come away from the direction of Mewar in Rajasthan with that of the Khas people. Linguists have also traced the influence of the language of the refugees from Gujarat, who had sought safety in the hill regions of Nepal and Kumaon in India to save themselves from the oppressions of the Muslims after Alauddin Khalji's attack upon Chittor (Mewar) in the beginning of the 14th century. The people of Doti speaking Dotyali, as well as those of Dullu speaking Dolali, both in W. Nepal, contributed in no small measure to the growth of this language. The people from Garhwal and Kumaon, some of whom still live on the western boundary of Nepal, contributed their share to the development and growth of the Nepali language. In the course of two centuries, viz., 15th and 16th, it had become established and popular enough to merit attention from the 17th century Malla king, Jaya Pratapamalla of Kathmandu. Though it was the custom of the Malla kings to have their inscriptions engraved in Sanskrit and Newari languages, king Pratapamalla made an exception in the case of the Rani Pokhari inscription³ which was composed almost entirely in Nepali for the comprehension of

¹J. Regmi, *Sāt Sāhityik ra Aitihāsik Abhilekha*, (Seven Literary and Historical Inscriptions), Varanasi, 2023 V.S. (1966).

²Ishwar Baral, '*Nepālī bhūshāko eutā purāno namunā*' (An old example of the Nepali language), *Nepal Sānskrītik Parishad Patrikā*, Kathmandu, year 2, No. 2, 2020 V.S., pp. 34-36. This inscription is dated in the year 1278 Śaka or A.D. 1354.

³D.R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, Part IV, Calcutta, 1966, pp. 140-143. Of the 41 lined inscription engraved on a stone slab found lying in the north-west corner of Rani Pokhari at Kathmandu, 34 lines are composed in Nepali. The first and last three lines are in Newari. That the king wanted the purport of the inscription to be understood by the Nepali speaking people must have been due largely to an influx of the Nepalese speaking folks into the capital by this time. The contents of the inscription throw interesting side-light on the life of the people at the time. The king pronounces a curse upon those desecrating the lake filled with the sacred waters from various holy sources, or of committing suicide in it. Incidentally, this tank stands to this day within the bounds set up by Pratapamalla in the year 790 N.S. or A.D. 1669 in the heart of Kathmandu.

(Contd.)

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the vast masses of the Nepali speaking people, who were in his time welcome to the Malla kingdom. The Nepali language, therefore, evolved out of a group of Indo-Aryan languages, dominated no doubt by Sanskrit in W. Nepal and gradually spread far and wide all over the country and even beyond into Sikkim. The language reached great heights of literary expression with Bhanu Bhakta's translation of the *Rāmāyana* in the Nepali language¹ in the 19th century. This classic held up before the speakers of the Nepali language tremendous potentialities of its growth and use for literary expression.

D. RELIGIOUS LIFE

It is to be conceded that the way of life among any people is determined to a great extent by religion, and, in its turn, it is sustained by temples and images, often emphasised by narrative scenes from the pages of religious folklore or mythology. The needs of religion give rise to a medium of artistic expression which in its turn develops in divergent ways at the hands of artists who specialize themselves at the task. The religions that have sustained the life of the Nepalese folks as indicated by their present practices and numerous monuments and artistic objects of worship that span the course of history, point mainly to Hinduism and Buddhism as the principal forces of life in Nepal. The literature of the people as well as the monuments are proofs of the developments of the religious thoughts that have taken place from time to time.

The oldest religion of Nepal from the days of Aryan penetration must no doubt have been some form of Brahmanical Hinduism. In the course of time the cults of Vishṇu and Śiva Paśupati as well as of Lakshmī and Durgā as Bhavānī or Kālī, established themselves and gained ground. Though archaeology has not yet succeeded, largely through paucity of efforts in the direction, to prove the pre-Christian strata of the Aryan penetration in Nepal in spite of the evidence of the Lichchhavis and the Mallas, who at some stage in the remote past had made Nepal their home and who are known from the days of the Buddha, there cannot be any doubt that the cult of Śiva and Vishṇu had been firmly entrenched in the 5th century A.D. when the earliest inscription engraved on the pedestal of an image of Vishṇu-Vikrāntamūrti, as one of the incarnations

Besides this inscription, there is yet another found engraved on a slab of stone found inside the temple of Mahadeva in Makhantol, Kathmandu, and dated in the year 761 N.S. (A.D. 1640), of king Lakshmī-Nrisimhamalla, father of King Pratapamalla (Regmi, *ibid.*, pp. 72-73).

Pratapamalla also set up a multi-lingual inscription dated 774 N.S. (*i.e.*, A.D. 1653) engraved on slab of stone with a water-conduit in the middle of the courtyard attached to the front wall of the Hanuman Dhoka palace at Kathmandu (Regmi, *ibid.*, pp. 90-91). The scripts used and mentioned in this inscription, which is basically in Newarī, are (i) Golmol, (ii) Persian, (iii) Tirhuti, (iv) Rañja-(nā), (v) Mājhpota, (vi) Devanāgarī, (vii) Samyaujee, (viii) Gotriā, (ix) Arabic, (x) Kayathi, (xi) Kaṭākshara, (xii) Sayāumeta, (xiii) Newari, (xiv) Kāshmīrī, (xv) Phirangī (Roman). The inscription was clearly a pedantic demonstration of Pratapamalla's catholic interests rather than an index of the real state of affairs of either real use or knowledge of all the languages and scripts.

¹Paras Mani Pradhan, *Bhānu Bhakta Granthāvalī*, Darjeeling, Samvat 2009.

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of Vishṇu himself, pointed to the long antecedents of the cult. Two deities in particular, viz., Vishṇu, accompanied by Lakshmī and Garuḍa, and Śiva, enjoying domestic bliss in the company of his consort and family of children and *ganas* (dwarfish goblins) in his aspect of Umā-Maheśvara were uppermost in the thoughts and reverence of the people in Nepal. In course of time the infiltration of the Tantra cult from the direction of Eastern India permeated the minds of the people. The cult of Śiva-Paśupati had emerged early enough in Nepal, but at any rate the earliest reference to Lord Paśupati and his temple in Kathmandu can be traced to the inscriptions of Amsuvarman, the Thakuri king of Nepal towards the end of the 6th century. Already by the 8th century the worship of the deity had apparently become vitiated by the aberrations of the Tantric practices as it had necessitated the traditionally believed arrival in Nepal of Sankaracharya in the course of his *digvijaya* (campaign of conquest) and reformation of both doctrine and practice. The authenticity of the reforms of Sankaracharya are sustained only by tradition and indicated by the practice of the daily conduct of worship by a group of five priests, chosen systematically for centuries from among learned Brahmins born in India to the south of the Narmada. The idea is further strengthened by the prevalent practice of invoking the goddess Bhavānī, i.e., the consort of Śiva in the form of a *maṇḍala* (Tantric diagram) to uphold the *Śakti* cult of creation and power emanating from a combination of *Prakṛiti* and *Purusha* as ordained by Sankaracharya even though he was a *vedāntin*.

Nepal enjoys the unique distinction of having the sacred spot of the birth of Gautama Buddha within her borders at Lumbini. Nevertheless, the Indian soil had the good fortune of witnessing his early efforts at attaining salvation, his Enlightenment and 45 years of ministration and preaching of his new faith until his demise. Buddhism may well have been introduced in Nepal by Buddha himself though direct evidence for such an inference is lacking. There is no doubt that Asoka either introduced Buddhism in Nepal afresh or revived and strengthened it, as he did in India and even beyond, across the seas in the west and in the south, through his emissaries and representatives. He came to Lumbini in person in the 21st year of his anointment as king, i.e., in 249 B.C. and, probably, built a stone temple on the spot in honour of the Buddha, remitting the pilgrim tax as well as reducing the annual tax from the usual 1/6th of the produce to 1/8th, as this must then have formed part of his territory.¹

1. G. Buehler, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, pp. 1 ff; E. Hultzsch, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, p. 164. The inscription reads as follows :

“Devānāmpīyena Piyadasina lājina vīsātivasābhisitena
atana āgācha mahīyite hida Budha jāte sakyamunīti
silāvigaḍabhīchā kālāpita silāthabhe cha usapāpite
hida bhagavan jāteti Lumminigāme ubalike kaṭe
aṭhabhāgiyecha”.

It means that the handsome king who was a beloved of the gods visited the spot when he had been anointed for twenty years and worshipped there as Lord Buddha was born here. He further built a structure at the birthspot with stones and bricks and erected a stone pillar. He also remitted the pilgrim tax levied on the Lumbini village and remitted the land tax by reducing it from the usual one-sixth of the produce to one-eighth of the produce.

He travelled further in the interior and had the *stūpa* of the previous Buddha Kanakamuni repaired in the 15th year of his anointment and inspected the works and worshipped at the repaired and enlarged *stūpa* in the 21st year of his reign, no doubt in the wake of his visit to Lumbini in the same year.

Tradition speaks of his visit to the Kathmandu valley also and the setting up there of five eastern *stūpas* at Lalitpur, besides founding the city itself. Of the five *stūpas* attributed to him two alone retain,¹ to any recognisable extent, the hemispherical shape of true Asokan *stūpas*, judged by the mere look, and may indeed be associated with him. The remaining three have witnessed many vicissitudes of fortune and have undergone much modification through the centuries and look mediaeval in chronology. But an archaeological excavation of any of these alone would indicate where the truth lies and the need of it cannot be stressed too strongly (pl. I).

But the Newars of the Kathmandu valley believed that it was Mañjuśrī, the Bodhisattva who came through the direction of China, who introduced Buddhism into Nepal by first cutting a passage for the impounded waters of the lake in the valley and approaching the lotus that represented the Buddha and had stood at the centre of the waters having eluded the grasp of his followers. As already indicated, the geologists have estimated that the draining of the lake took place about 200,000 years ago. The anachronism of the claim, in view of the much later appearance of Gautama Buddha, seems, therefore, difficult to reconcile with. The fact that China got its Buddhism across Central Asia through the mediation of the Kushanas in the first century A.D. militates against the view of any earlier emergence of Buddhism in Nepal though there must be incontrovertible evidence for the theory in other sources.

Asoka's daughter, Chārumatī, is said to have married a Kshatriya prince of Nepal, viz., Devapāla, and taken up residence in the country. In course of time she became disgusted with the worldly life and entered the order of nuns and set up a *vihāra* (monastery) in Deva Pattana. The Buddhist *chaitya*³ of Chabahil (pl. II) in Deopatan echoes its association phonetically with Chārumatī and points along with the Asokan tradition to the Mauryan contribution to the preaching and popularisation of Buddhism in Nepal. The growth of Buddhism in this mountainous country in the early centuries of the Christian era is not well documented. Nevertheless, the discovery of a Yaksha-Bodhisattva image of stone datable to the 2nd century A.D. and ascribable to Kushana workmanship in the locality, Hadigaon, a suburb of Kathmandu, and now located in the National Museum, Kathmandu, has provided a fresh link in the chain of history that is to be fully written out.² Further discoveries have filled the lacuna in respect of

¹The intact ones are at Pulchok at the entrance to Patan and at Lagan Khel (pl. I) near the Industrial Estate at Patan. A distinction is made in Nepal between a *chaitya* and a *stūpa*. In Nepalese parlance a *chaitya* means a commemorative or votive *stūpa*, and *stūpa* means a sepulchral or relic *stūpa*. From this point of view all *stūpas* in Nepal have probably to be called *chaityas*.

²N.R. Banerjee and B.K. Rijal, 'Three Early Sculptures in the National Museum at Kathmandu' *Ancient Nepal*, no. 4, July 1968, pp. 37-43, pls. V A & B.

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the growth of Buddhism in the Lichchhavi period, and even the inscriptions have indicated the flourishing condition of Buddhism in Nepal throughout the reign of the Lichchhavi rulers, and even of their Thakuri successors. This is adduced by the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, who actually visited Nepal in the course of his enormous journey from China across Central Asia and through India in the first half of the 7th century A.D. This is also corroborated by the popularity of the cult of the stone *chaityas* during the same period. It is also known that Vasubandhu had visited Nepal for the propagation of the Buddhist faith in the 4th century A.D. In the 7th century king Amsuvarman who was a patron of Buddhism as well as of Paśupati commissioned an Indian scholar, Śīlamanju, to translate the Sanskrit Buddhist texts into the Tibetan language.

In the mean time the trappings of Tantricism affected the purity of pristine Buddhism in India and the waves of the new-fangled cult that developed in Bengal, Bihar and Assam travelled across the hills to Nepal as well, and as a result Nepal continues till this day to be a stronghold of Tantricism permeating the cults of both Śiva and Buddha.

The tenets of the Tantra cult had already been showing up as early as 5th century in the texts and inscriptions of the Gupta period in India. It is difficult indeed to comprehend fully the mysterious processes of how the Tantras work. They signify, however, the pursuit of a course of a ritual by the drawing of a diagram (*yantra* or *maṇḍala*) on metal, stone or a piece of suitable textile and invoking therein the magical or supra-natural powers and forces that was the goal of all religious practices under the system by an elaborate process by *prāṇapratiṣṭhā* or the invoking of life, and the achievement thereafter of communication between the practitioner and the divinity invoked by a complicated and difficult process called *nyāsa* and finally the recitation of abbreviated *mantras* or carefully composed texts which were extremely potent and significant. The success of the practice depended very much upon the control of the mind and body by the practice of the *yoga*.

The root of the idea occurs quite early in the Buddhist literature. There are incantations recommended in the *Atanāṭiya Suttānta* which is part of the *Digha Nikāya* to serve as spells or charms against the onslaughts of the Yakshas, Gandharvas and other evil spirits.¹

The incompatibility of the idea of the use of protective spells (*parittas*) had been discussed by the theologians as early as the 1st century A.D. in the *Milindapañho*,

¹One of the Buddhist texts commended by Asoka in his Bhabru edict is *Anāgatabhayāni*, (or the fears that are yet to come), Senart, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX, pp. 165 ff; Hultzsch, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, pp. 172 ff; D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 2nd edition, 1965, pp. 74-5.

which would show that the idea of the efficacy of spells against fears and evil spirits existed from very early times indeed.

The *Mahāmāyūrī Dhāraṇī*, which is part of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, contains similar concepts. It can, therefore, be stated that the Tantras and Sūtras of Buddhism had appeared simultaneously. The *dhāraṇīs* in the form of spells were referred to in the *Mahāmāyā Sūtras*. But the earliest use of the spells in actual life is adduced by the *Karaṇḍavyūha*, a Buddhist work of the 4th century A.D. The *Shaḍāksharī mantra*, “*Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*”, which is the principal chant of the Tibetan Buddhists is to be traced to this work. Its simple meaning is that the jewel is implanted in the lotus and it cryptically expresses the basic principle of Buddhism, viz., that the attainment of Buddhahood which is the ultimate aim of all Buddhists can be obtained by a combination of effort and supreme knowledge.¹

The Mahāyāna form of Buddhism which had evolved under the Kushanas had already conceived of the idea of Bodhisattva as the Buddha to be, who ministered to the spiritual needs of the masses. The conception of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara had come to stay in the early centuries of the Christian era. The impact of the efficacy of the *mantras* or spells was also already being felt in the 4th century A.D. The work of casting spells brought into existence a special class of priests called the *Vidyādharas*.

Meanwhile, the conception of primordial Buddha or the Ādi Buddha began to gain ground. He became the originator of the five meditative Buddhas called the Dhyāni Buddhas, viz., Vairocana, Akshobhya, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi and Ratnasambhava, representing the different aspects of the activities of Buddha himself. The conception of the Dhyāni Buddhas is referred to for the first time in the composition called *Jñānasiddhi* written by Indrabhūti in the 8th century. These Dhyāni Buddhas together with their emanations brought about a multiplication of deities along with their female counterparts as in the manner of the Brahmanical pantheon. This implied and involved the incorporation of many Hindu deities like Gaṇeśa, Bhairava, Sarasvatī and even Indra into the Buddhist pantheon. Corresponding to the Bhavānī or Durgā of the Hindus came the conception of the goddess Tārā who was elevated to the position of the consort of Buddha himself as early as 8th century A.D. The conception of Vasudhārā as the benign goddess of prosperity and plenty reflects the Hindu conception of Lakshmī. The deification of a living virgin as goddess Kumārī² a little over 200 years

¹It has a sexual symbolism. The jewel symbolizes the male element and the lotus the female and in the conjoint form it visualizes the *yab-yum* or *samvara* sculptures relating to the union of *prajñā* or knowledge of the supreme truth with void or *śūnyatā* which alone can induce *Nirvāṇa* or emancipation from the shackles of the otherwise eternal chain of births and deaths.

²This is one of the most striking traditions of Nepal and at once combines the concepts of a deity prevalent in Buddhism and Hinduism alike. A virgin girl in her infancy is chosen with much care to reign as the goddess Kumārī and is enshrined in a temple called the Kumārī Ghar where she is confined till she attains puberty. She belongs to the Buddhist caste of goldsmith, but receives devotion from Hindus and Buddhists alike. According to a tradition initiated by Prithvinarayana Shah in 1768, the Shah King of Nepal receives to this day the benedictory *ṭikā* from the tiny hands of the living goddess on an appointed day in the autumn every year.

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ago by king Jaya Prakaśamalla of Kathmandu is suggestive of the cult of the Mother Goddess and is equally appealing to the Buddhists and Hindus alike.

The concept of the divine power had got associated in Hinduism with the cult of Śakti or the Mother Goddess. At the same time there came into existence the concept of the *Śaktipīthas* or spots sacred to Śakti which became well entrenched in the 7th century A.D. and which symbolized the principle of the combination of *Prakṛiti* and *Purusha*, or the female and male, respectively, rendered feasible through a sexual symbolism of man and consort. The combination of this symbolism with the belief in the efficacy of *mantras* achieved through the performance of *yoga*, *kriyā* (ceremonies) and *charyā* was neither objectionable nor reprehensible but the misinterpretation of the doctrine and abuse of the practices by some sections of the adherents led to the debasement of Tantricism and its undeserved acquisition of evil reputation.

In Nepal the cult of Bhagavatī in the form of Mahishāsūramardīnī, the idol *par excellence* of Tantric Śaktism, popularly worshipped on a large scale in Eastern India, became the most popular deity in Nepal in the early mediaeval period¹ and continues to hold the position to this day. Under the Malla rulers, the goddess came to be revered as Tulajā (Tūryā) Bhavānī (often called Taleju). In different manifestations she assumed different forms and names and claimed the sacrifice of animals as part of the Tantric cult, as sanctified by the Vedas in the olden days.

Buddhism in Nepal too adopted the symbolism implied by Tantricism and brought into being a pantheon of deities and their female counterparts as propounded in the *Guhya Samāja*, composed in the 5th century A.D. But the female devotee stood only for the supreme knowledge (*prajñā*) which leads to the salvation of souls. The crude combination of the Buddhist god of any particular order and his female counterpart in a posture which is variously called *yiḍam* or *saṁvara* recalls the picture of the sexual bliss and this example was used crudely as reflective of the bliss to be attained by the achievement of *Nirvāṇa*. The idea was to convey the combination of *prajñā* or void, *i.e.*, non-existence with the method or means of attaining the void as the supreme goal of man. This paved the way for the evolution of the *Vajrayāna* or the Adamantine way in which the *vajra* (thunderbolt) was the means and *prajñā* (supreme knowledge) with the combination of which the bliss of *Nirvāṇa* could be achieved. This led to the use of the symbolism of the thunderbolt as the means advocated by the Buddha and the *ghaṇṭā* (bell) as representing the lotus or *Prajñā* in the hands of the gods. The recitation of the Tantric *mantras* and the invocation of the divinity in a diagram engraved on stone or metal called the *vajradhātumaṇḍala* were the *modus operandi* adopted by the priestly order among the Buddhists on behalf of the devotees. The magical power of the image or the *maṇḍala* came to be transferred also to the painted

¹Tradition attributes the introduction of the cult which is the biggest and most important throughout the Hindu kingdom of Nepal to Harisimhadeva, the fugitive king of Simraongarh, who took refuge in Bhaktapur after his defeat at the hands of Ghiyasuddin Khalji in A.D. 1324.

panels depicting the respective devotees in diverse combinations, and these came to serve the religious needs of the Nepalese as well as the Tibetan Buddhists under the names of *paubhās* or *ṭaṅkāś*.

The growing pantheon thus came into existence and this growth and expansion marked the basic divergence of the new cult from the simple one preached by Buddha. Nevertheless, the basic principle or philosophy of life remained unaltered.

A series of teachers from India, following in the wake of Vasubandhu mentioned above, viz., Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśīla and Padmasambhava, in the 8th century, and later Atīśa, in the 11th century, travelled into Nepal and propounded the doctrines there during their sojourn in Nepal on their way to Tibet.

The literature that sustained the new concepts in the form of *Sādhana-mālā* and *Nishapanna-yogāvalī* provided the iconographical details of the deities that have come into existence from time to time.

But in Nepal Buddhism took a new turn. Monasticism was given up by the monks of old and the Buddhist community brought in the devastating social order of caste among the adherents of the Buddhists. These features together with the multiplication of the deities sapped Buddhism as practised in the country of its vital force, though it still held the community loosely together, bringing it closer to their Hindu brethren, among whom Buddha had already attained the position of an *avatāra* or incarnation of Viṣṇu as early as the 6th century A.D.¹ On the other side Buddha and all the other deities in the Buddhist order, as came to be established in Nepal, obtained the reverence of the Hindus as well. The innumerable festivities which such a macrocosm of devotees has given rise to among the Buddhists and Hindus have basically a relevance to the economy of the Nepalese folks as well as to their social cohesion, helping at once to foster unity and promote the common values of life centred in religion.

At the same time, Tibet too welcomed Buddhism. Meanwhile under the patronage of the Pala kings of Bengal, Buddhism became associated with the trappings of Tantricism in the whole of eastern India, comprising Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam, and the effects were felt in Nepal as well. Tibet, which received the religion for the first time in the 7th century, was also affected, though she was able to retain the religion unaltered and unaffected by the mass of innumerable gods and goddesses that gradually came to fill the pantheon, for they never gave up the monastic life, nor abjured celibacy nor imbibed the invidious system of castes. They stuck in their religious practice to the basic principles of Buddhism. Buddhism in Tibet as well owed its introduction and propagation to the contribution of a series of Indian savants who undertook the arduous journey across the valleys and mountains for the propagation of the doctrine of their Lord. But the person who was most responsible for the spread of the doctrine in Tibet, which eventually led to the cult of Lamaism, was Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna or Atīśa

¹In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

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of Vikramaśilā.¹ He spent the last 13 years of life in Tibet during A.D. 1040-1053. To return the compliment, numberless Tibetan scholars and monks came to the different universities of India, in the wake of the work of these great savants, who learnt the doctrine for themselves at the feet of the then ruling masters and in course of time accumulated copies of large volumes of the sacred texts of Buddhism in Tibetan translation. As an irony of history, Buddhism eventually almost disappeared from India, but lived on in Nepal and Tibet as in several other countries and both Nepal and Tibet have retained for us many copies of the sacred texts of the doctrine which have, however, disappeared from the Indian soil.

Throughout the period of the two-way traffic of scholars and monks, which often passed through Nepal, the Nepalese scholars had the good fortune of meeting them on the way and they took advantage of the situation and avidly made copies of the manuscripts which the scholars, travellers and pilgrims carried with them. When eventually the Muslim invasion of Bihar and Bengal destroyed the principal centres of Buddhism in the mediaeval period in north India, the monks fled from their monasteries carrying with them their sacred texts and even cult images and it was Nepal's good fortune to receive them and preserve them with care for posterity. The texts helped the scholars to understand the tenets better. In course of time when the original manuscripts had decayed, fresh copies were made from time to time. The subjects covered by the manuscripts did not encompass religion alone, nor were they confined to Buddhism. As a result, a vast mass of literature on a diverse variety of subjects including literature, grammar, astrology, religion, philosophy, science and medicine, etc., came into Nepal's possession. The cult images had their uses for they inspired the Nepalese to create similar pieces for use in the monasteries and private chapels and gave rise to new idioms of art which were imbibed and modified at the hands of the Nepalese artists to suit their requirements.

To begin with, the art that the religions fostered was deeply influenced by the traditions that were growing beyond the frontiers; but, after the coming in of the Muslims into north India, that influence ceased to flow and new forms and artistic styles evolved on the Nepalese soil based upon the substratum of the artistic traditions that already had come into being.

It is also to be considered that there are votaries of other religious beliefs living in Nepal. They represent, however, comparatively small sections of the population and detailed consideration of the tenets of either Christianity or Islam, or even Sikhism or the sects of Yogis like those of the Nathas or Josmanis need not detain us here, being either too well-known or of minor importance in the context of Nepalese art as the case may be. None of these faiths has grown integrally on the soil except the cult of Gorakhnatha of the Josmanis which have only a limited following, also in India. The

¹Now tentatively identified with an enormous monastic establishment at Antichak in District Bhagalpur, Bihar.

latter reflect the back-flow, in a small way, of the religious forces that have found shelter in the security of the valleys girt and enclosed by the hills.

It may be recalled, in passing, that with the revival of the cult of Krishna brought about by Chaitanya in Bengal, Nepal too witnessed the strengthening of the faith in the cult of Krishna enunciated in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*¹ and emphasised by literary flourish in the *Gīta-Govinda* of Jayadeva in the 12th century. This is reflected in numerous *pātās* (painted sheets) highlighting the themes drawn from the involved anecdotes from the 15th century onwards. The stone temples of Rama and Krishna in Patan, erected by Siddhi-Narasimhamalla in A.D. 1637, are living monuments to this revival which has not lost its effect yet upon the populace.

¹The *Mahābhārata*, however, is the earliest literary source of the life of Krishna and he is already shown therein as the incarnation of Vishṇu or Nārāyaṇa and as the source of the *Gītā*. Radha is linked with him in the later *Purāṇas*. Inscriptional records adduce the occurrence of the cult of Krishna (Vāsudeva) and Balarāma as early as the 1st century B.C. in the Mathura region during the reign of king Śoḍāsa. The earliest sculptural representation of Balarāma (now in the State Museum, Lucknow) goes back to the second century B.C., even as the earliest inscriptional reference to a temple dedicated to Vishṇu occurs in the Besnagar stone pillar inscription of Heliodoros near Vidisha in Madhya Pradesh.

CHAPTER III

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF NEPAL

A. INTRODUCTORY

(The Lichchhavis, the Dark Period and the Mallas)

The concept of Nepal as a political-cum-geographical expression today is much larger in its expanse than it was in the ancient and mediaeval times. In fact, the Malla kings who ruled over the valley of Kathmandu for nearly 600 years called themselves as *Nepāleśvara* (Lord of Nepal), notwithstanding the fact that there were several independent kingdoms flourishing simultaneously with the Mallas in the various parts of Nepal as we understand it geographically to-day. In fact, even the Lichchhavis, who ruled before the Mallas, called themselves as kings of Nepal. These facts lend support to the prevalence of a rather narrow connotation of the extent of the kingdom of Nepal from almost the beginning of Nepal's history till the end of the mediaeval period. This is also indicated by the reference to the Kathmandu valley as 'Nepal' in the common parlance of the local people all over Nepal till this day. The present political boundaries of Nepal owe themselves to the conquests of Prithvinarayana Shah in 1768 and of his successors slightly later, resulting in the unification of the country in very much the same way as the unification of Germany or Italy brought about in 1871 from out of a congeries of independent states, which in the case of Germany had numbered over 300.

The historical period of Nepal can be said to begin with the birth of Buddha at Lumbini in the Terai region. Literary accounts point to the existence then of sixteen *Mahājanapadas* or states in the northern half of the Indian sub-continent. Among them were the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, Lichchhavis of Vaisali, and Mallas of Pawa and Kusinagara, respectively, who would appear to be closely associated with the history of Nepal at the time.

Historically, the mediaeval and post-mediaeval *Vamśāvalis* (genealogies with historical accounts of the dynasties) in Nepal wāi eloquent about the Kirati dynasty perhaps the earliest rulers of Nepal. The *Rāis* and *Limbus* living in eastern Nepal today claim to be the descendants of the *Kirātis* of old. A mound to the south-west of Hiranyavarṇa Mahāvihārā at Lalitpur called 'Patukodon' is believed traditionally to represent the ruins of the palace of the *Kirāti* king, though the truth of the belief remains yet to be proved by the spade.

The *Mahābhārata* speaks of the performance by Arjuna of a penance for obtaining the *Pāśupata* weapon and this is supposed to have taken place within the regional limits of present-day Nepal. The theme of the penance and the eventual emergence on the scene by Śiva himself in the disguise of a hunter (*kirāta*), and a duel ensuing between the two and the ultimate revelation of himself by Śiva and the grant of the desired boon to Arjuna, has been immortalized in a Sanskrit work of a south Indian poet, Bharavi, and called the *Kirātārjunīyam* and it has been perpetuated visually in the well-known and massive *bas-relief* panel on the escarped face of rock at Mahabali-puram near Madras in Tamilnadu. This legend is often cited in support of the predominance of the *Kirātis* in the hill region of Nepal in the beginning of her history. The remains of the temple of Kirāteśvara on the grounds of the mound of Mrigasthali, opposite the Paśupati temple in Deopatan, seems to be a distant echo or a commemoration of the event. The fact that the *Kirātis* of today assemble annually in festive mood for the worship of their tutelary deity, Siddhilakshmī, not very far from 'Patukodon' lends a semblance of support to the theory of the supposed association of the *Kirātis* with the area. But the recent and limited excavations at Hadigaon and Lazimpat (1965)¹ and Dhumvarahi (1966)² within the township of Kathmandu have not indicated the remains of any earlier settlement in the area before the Lichchhavis, who emerged upon the scene in the early centuries of the Christian era.

On the contrary, the excavations at Tilaura-kot³ (1962 and 1966-69)⁴ and Banjarahi and Paisia (1964)⁵ in the Terai, not very far from Lumbini, have indicated that the habitations in the Terai region began about 600 B.C. and continued through the periods of the Mauryas, Śuṅgas, Kushanas and the Guptas, on the basis of finds and materials comparable to those found in the Ganga plains of India further to the south.

The Lichchhavis, whose earliest inscription dates back to A.D. 464⁶ may well have begun to rule in Nepal about A.D. 300 or slightly later. More anciently they are mentioned in Buddhist literature as well as in the *Manusmṛiti*,⁷ In Buddhist literature

¹S.B. Deo, *Excavations at Kathmandu* 1965, Kathmandu, 1968.

²The excavation at Dhumvarahi was conducted by the author in his capacity as Archaeological Adviser to His Majesty's Government of Nepal on behalf of the Indian Cooperation Mission, in May-June 1966.

³D. Mitra, *Excavations at Tilaura-kot and Kodan and Explorations in the Nepalese Tarai*, Calcutta, 1972.

⁴The full report of the work is yet to be published.

⁵S.B. Deo, *Archaeological Investigation in the Nepalese Tarai*, 1964, Kathmandu, 1968.

⁶Gnoli, op. cit., p. 1.

⁷*Manusmṛiti*. X, 22.

they have been shown as champions of the faith of Mahavira Jina and Buddha. Chandragupta I, the father of Samudragupta, came to the throne of Magadha in A.D. 320. He had married a Lichchhavi princess, Kumāradevī. It has now been established that the Guptas had succeeded in setting themselves up in Magadha with the help of their Lichchhavi kinsmen. It is not clear, however, if the Lichchhavis had then come away from Vaisali and had started living in Nepal, even though the earliest inscriptional reference to them, no doubt made out of gratitude felt by the Gupta ruler for the help so generously rendered, occurs in the coins of Chandragupta I (A.D. 320-335).¹ His son and successor, Samudragupta, also refers to them in his inscriptions and takes pride in calling himself as a grandson of the Lichchhavis.² But the reference to Nepal as a border kingdom in his time in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta³ (A.D. 336-375) and the mention of the fact of its ruler having shown reverence to him, could not perhaps point to the Lichchhavis as the contemporary rulers of Nepal, though such a possibility cannot be ruled out.

The word Nepal occurs for the first time in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya⁴, datable to the 2nd or 1st century B.C., in the context of the description of blankets imported in those days from Nepal. It is interesting to record that Nepal has enjoyed a reputation for the manufacture of a variety of blankets from the remotest times in antiquity and in such quantity as to be in a position even to export to a neighbouring country.

The provenance of the inscriptions of the Lichchhavis points to an area bounded by Dharmasthali⁵ in the north, Palanchok⁶ in the east, Gorkha⁷ in the west, and Lele⁸ and Tistung⁹ in the south, delimiting the extent of their domains. The Lichchhavis held sway over the central area around Kathmandu from about A.D. 300 to 750. The recent discovery of inscribed bricks of Amsuvarman in the Hadigaon area of

¹J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Indian coins in the British Museum—coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, pp. 8 ff.

²J.F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp. 6 ff., line 29.

³*Ibid.*, line 22.

⁴*Arthaśāstra*, 2 *Adhikaraṇa*, 11 *Adhyāya*, 30 *Prakaraṇa*.

⁵R. Gnoli, *op. cit.*, no 26; Dhanavajra Bajracharya, *Lichchhavi Kālko Abhilekha* (Nepali), Kathmandu, 2030 V.S. p. 63.

⁶D. Bajracharya, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 523.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 282.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 110.

Kathmandu,¹ would point to a spot near the locality as a possible palace quarters and the centre of the capital of the kingdom. The Mallas, who had been living at the same time in a neighbouring area, seem to have given no end of trouble to their Lichchhavi brethren as a thorn in their side and the Lichchhavis were in consequence at considerable pains to drive them out and keep them at bay. These Mallas are mentioned inscriptionally for the first time in the Changu Narayan inscription of king Manadeva (A.D. 464). The Mallas proved themselves to be such a menace to the Lichchhavis that a tax had to be levied to defray the expense of defence against the inroads of the Mallas, anticipating by several centuries a similar measure adopted by the East India Company in 1769 when they threw up a defensive wall around the sprawling Indian township of Black Town (later called George Town) outside Fort St. George in Madras, out of fear from the possible and threatened invasion by Hyder Ali of Mysore. The concomitant measure was the levying of a tax called the 'wall tax' to defray the expenses of defence, and the memory of this is borne to this day by the name of the road skirting the wall known as the Wall Tax Road, running alongside the Madras Central station.

The Lichchhavis ruled from about A.D. 350 to 595 when Amsuvarman, the former vassal of the Lichchhavi king, Sivadeva, assumed sovereignty and introduced an era beginning in A.D. 595.² Amsuvarman, a contemporary of king Harsha of Kanauj, and king Tsrön-tsan-gampo of Tibet, introduced the line of the Thakuris that remained in power till A.D. 1043. They were succeeded by another dynasty of the Thakuris that ruled from Nayakot till A.D. 1082. Yet another Thakuri dynasty, the third that came in the wake of the second, ruled from Patan till about A.D. 1200.

It is not possible to work out the details of the history of the other parts of Nepal as we understand today during this period.

During the major part of the rule of the Lichchhavis and that of the early rule of the first dynasty of the Thakuris, the Guptas held the sway in north India between A.D. 320 and 700. It was at this time that the Lichchhavis adopted the prevalent script of the Guptas which was in fact a tribute to their neighbours. The earliest traditions of art in Nepal also came apparently from that direction.

¹The bricks of which about 10 intact specimens were found in the course of an earthwork excavation at the foundation of a mediaeval temple of Sarasvati a little to the west of the Satyanarayana temple at the south-eastern corner of the junction between the main north-south street of Hadigaon and the east-west lane towards the Satyanarayana temple. The bricks bear on the narrow side the legend *Mahāsāmanta Śryaṁśuvarmaṇaḥ* meaning that these belong to the great vassal lord Śrī Amsuvarman. It would not be wrong to infer that these bricks must have formed part of the palace of *Kailāsakūṭabhavana* built for him by the reigning king, Sivadeva I, his father-in-law. The findspot of the bricks should be a pointer to the location of the now lost remains of this wondrous palace from which the subsequent rulers of Nepal, of the Lichchhavi period, issued their charters and inscriptions.

²Another date, namely, A.D. 576 has also been suggested.

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Tsron-tsan-gampo of Tibet, who was a contemporary of Amsuvarman, entered into a marriage alliance with the latter by marrying his daughter, Bhrikuti,¹ who was a staunch devotee of Buddhism, and made significant contribution to the introduction and spread of Buddhism in Tibet. The Tibetan king also deputed the learned Sambhota for learning all the Buddhist scriptures as well as obtaining mastery over the alphabets in vogue in India in those days with a view to adopting and propagating a written script into Tibet and through it the spreading of knowledge among the masses in the country. The latter on his return wrote a book on Tibetan grammar and devised a script on the model of the Gupta script to suit the phonetic system of the Tibetan language. The Tibetan script remains almost unaltered ever since.

Amsuvarman is also associated with the construction of a seven-storied palace, *Kailāsakūṭabhavana*, the like of which was not to be seen anywhere according to the description of it and of a tower built on the court, recorded by the leader of the Chinese delegation which came to Nepal during the reign of Narendradeva at the end of the 7th century.² This has often been cited as evidence for concluding that the multiple roofed or storied temples of Nepal, which are commonly described as the pagoda type temples, owe themselves to the inspiration imparted by the palace and are believed to be of indigenous evolution and development.

The earliest reference to the grace of Lord Paśupati occurs in the inscriptions of Amsuvarman and it is very likely that the temple of Paśupati came originally into existence in his reign, *i.e.*, between A.D. 595 and 643.³

Amsuvarman had ruled jointly with the king Sivadeva for a pretty long time as a vassal or co-ruler before his assumption of full powers of royalty, suggesting the existence of a diarchical system of rule in Nepal as early as the 6th century, thus anticipating a system that became accentuated with support from numerous instances from later history, and particularly by the example many centuries later under the hegemony of the Rana Prime Ministers of Nepal from A.D. 1847 to 1951.

After an interregnum of the Thakuri line that lasted till A.D. 748, the Lichchhavi dynasty was restored for a while until A.D. 767, under Sivadeva II.

The history of Nepal enters thereupon into a dark period which lasted during the next 250 years. It is illuminated now and then, only slightly, by the conflicting evidence of the *Varṇśāvalis* alone. It is held that in the middle of the 7th century Tibetan armies⁴ penetrated into Nepal and reduced her to a vassalage from which she recovered only in A.D. 703 by a successful revolt under king Rudradeva. An event of great importance that took place towards the end of the 8th century was the invasion

¹D.R. Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, pp. 125-6.

²Regmi, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

³This is concluded on the basis of the reference to Paśupati in the inscriptions of Amsuvarman.

⁴Regmi, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-8.

of the Himalayan kingdom by king Jayapida of Kashmir,¹ but it was repelled by a king called Aramudi.²

At the close of the century, *i.e.*, in A.D. 800, Nepal also witnessed the incursion of king Dharmapala³ of Gauda into Nepal and though the rule of this new king was nominal and short-lived, this affair had its effects in the form of infiltration of the influence of the Palas in the field of religion, and of course, as is eloquently clear, also in numerous artistic expressions, especially in sculpture. It was at this time that Tantricism may have entered into Nepal in the wake of Dharmapala's campaign. This is corroborated by the evidence of the visit of Śāntarakshita and Padmasambhava, propagators of the Tantric cult in Buddhism. About the same time there was a revival of Hinduism which has been attributed by tradition to Sankaracharya, the great Indian saint, who through his preachings and writings brought about a complete discomfiture of Buddhism in India. The set-back to Tantric Buddhism appears to have been only temporary, since the appearance of Atīśa in the 11th century revived and revitalized the moribund Tantric cult.

In this context it is of importance to know that the Palas, who ruled an area covering Bengal and Bihar from A.D. 750 to 1150, evolved and patronized the new Tantric cult of Buddhism within their domains and contributed an easily recognizable and distinctive artistic style which they imparted by slow degrees to Nepal and greatly influenced the religious life of the people in the mountain kingdom and subserviently sustained artistic forms that came in its wake. Another event of great significance as well as importance that took place during this period was the introduction of a new era usually called the Nepal Samvat, beginning in A.D. 879, by king Raghavadeva of the second Thakuri dynasty. This singular event which may have inspired the initiation of a new era, has not been sufficiently or satisfactorily explained. One explanation is in respect of the deliverance from the yoke of the Tibetans under which the Nepalese had been suffering from the time of Tson-tsan-gampo. This era has been described in the account of its being founded in the *Varṇśāvalis* as *Paśupati bhattāraka samvatsara* which would seem to imply that the founding of the era had something to do with the founding or renovation of the Paśupati temple.

Towards the end of the 11th century, Nepal seems to have come under the influence, if not the sway, of a Karnataka dynasty. As a matter of fact, Nanyadeva, who was a prince from the region of Karnataka in south India, came in the course of his campaign as far north as Tirhut and acquired it in A.D. 1097 and made Simraongarh in Nepal, within a few miles from the Indian border, his capital. The arrival of the

¹D.R. Regmi, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-70.

²L. Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal*, Rome, 1958, pp. 29-30.

³R.C. Majumdar, *History of Ancient Bengal*, p. 181.

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Karnataka dynasty to the southern area of Nepal may have been politically infructuous to begin with, but the dynasty founded by Nanyadeva¹ lasted for a period of 226 years till A.D. 1324 when the last independent ruler of Simraongarh, namely, Harisimha Deva² was defeated by Ghiyasuddin Tughlak and he was obliged to flee his capital and seek shelter in the valley of Nepal. There can be no doubt that, as a ruler and scion of a respected line, Harisimha Deva may have been well received and respected by the people of Nepal and he may have even settled down to some landed property in the valley and obtained the dignity of a small prince. A female descendant³ of the house of Harisimha Deva, namely, Rajalla Devi came to be married in course of time to Jaya Sthitimalla who came to rule the kingdom of Nepal in 1382. Thus the two houses of Karnataka and Mallas were united in one royal family and whatever properties the Karnataka house may have possessed, passed to the central line of the Mallas.⁴

Towards the end of the 12th century, several rulers from south India, viz., Somesvara III (A.D. 1162) "claimed sovereignty over Nepal." The Kalachuri ruler Bijjala⁵ also claimed sovereignty over Nepal in or around A.D. 1200. Slightly later, perhaps the Yadava king Jaitugi (A.D. 1191-1210)⁶ also claimed that his armies defeated the hordes of Nepal.

Regardless of the claims of the duration of the direct impact of the events associated with these claims of any contact, if at all, that may have been established by these rulers with Nepal, it cannot be gainsaid that there was the probability of an element of influence, howsoever slight or short-lived, coming from the direction of south India into Nepal at this time as a result of these far-flung contacts.

Meanwhile, events beyond the borders of Nepal in the south, i.e., within the contiguous areas of India could scarcely have left the central administration of the valley unaffected or unconcerned. The dynasty of the Senas originating from Karnataka again set up a rule over Bengal under Vijayasena⁷ about the same time as Nanyadeva in Tirhut. In fact, the Senas replaced the Palas in Bengal and Bihar and held sway over the territories between A.D. 1150 and 1280. The Senas too have been constantly

¹H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 30-38.

²Petech, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-112.

³That the Mallas of the Kathmandu valley were descended of Nanyadeva of Simraongarh is related by several sources of information. A *Varṇśāvalī* of the 17th century points to Nanyadeva as the ancestor of the Mallas. The literary work *Muditakuvalayāśva*, written at Bhaktapur in the time of Jagajyotimalla in N.S. 748, i.e., A.D. 1627 traces the descent of the Mallas to Nanyadeva. Pratapamalla's inscription of the year 760 N.S., i.e. A.D. 1649 confirms the account. The founding of the kingdom is set down to the year 1019, Śaka, i.e., A.D. 1097 as given out in words standing for numerals, viz., 'Nanda indu śūnya śaśī'

⁴Harisimha Deva is stated to have suffered defeat at the hands of Ghiyasuddin Tughlak in circa A.D. 1324 in the *Mithila Varṇśāvalī*, which cites: *Bāṇavdhi yugmaśaśe sasmīta śakavarśhe pausha-śukla navamī ravīsūnūvāre tyaktvā svapaṭṭanapurīm Harisimhadeva Durdaivaviparītaḥ giriṃ pravāsa*", cf. Pratapamalla's Hanuman Dhoka inscription of the year, *Sanskṛita Sandeśa*, Nos. 1-2.

⁵Petech, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

⁶Ray, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 204.

⁷Deopara Inscription of Vijayasena, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 30ff.

in contact with their northern neighbours and as a consequence cultural exchanges between the peoples took place in ample measure. This is to be seen in the sphere of art, especially sculpture as well as their religious and social life. The influence in the field of sculptural art is noticed in the lengthening of the images though they did not lose their proportions, and in the tendency to over-ornament the figures. Simraongarh in the Terai area became the springboard and new centre of the artistic expression that gained ground under the impact of the Senas.

Meanwhile, the Muslim power was gradually expanding eastwards. In A.D. 1193 Bihar had been annexed by Mohammed Bakhtiar Khalji. This event was bound to have widespread repercussion in Nepal. The exodus of monks from India followed this incident and when they moved to Nepal, they took with them their religion and literature in the form of manuscripts. The loss sustained by India turned into a gain for Nepal. Suddenly, also, the traditional artistic talent of sculpture and architecture became arrested in India and the Indian source of inspiration for the favoured works of art began consequently to dry up and dwindle.

A new dynasty came to wield the central power in the Valley in A.D. 1200 and called itself the Mallas, beginning with the rule of Arimalla (A.D. 1200-1216). The Mallas of Pawa and Kusinara, mentioned in Buddhist literature as contemporaries of Buddha, are, however, the earliest Mallas known to history. It is not unlikely that the later Mallas, were in some way related to them, having been obliged to live in comparative obscurity for several centuries before they came into prominence again. The Mallas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as belonging to the order of Kshatriyas, but Manu in the *Manusmṛiti* considers them as *Vrātya* Kshatriyas, probably because they had been neglecting the duties belonging to their order and had become adherents of the Buddhist teachings. The *Mahāparinibbāna Sūttanta* mentions two groups of Mallas as having received a share each of the relics of Buddha's mortal remains after his cremation. The fact that the Nirvāṇa *stūpa*¹ as erected by the Mallas of Kusinara has been discovered at Kasia, near Gorakhpur, now correctly identified with Kusinagar (District Deoria) speaks for the truth of the literary evidence. If the Mallas really remained under the domination of the Lichchhavis and the Thakuris for several centuries cannot be stated for certain, but that such a possibility cannot be ruled out is indicated by the

¹The truth of the tradition of *stūpas* is also firmly established by the Ahraura inscription of Asoka, wherein he states about the relics of Buddha's body having been placed on an altar (for worship or reverence) obviously after opening of the 7 original *stūpas* (vide D.C. Sircar, *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXVI, pp. 239ff.). The excavation at the *stūpa* at Vaisali has pointed to its existence (circumstantially of the Lichchhavis) as early as the 6th century B.C. and its disturbance in the 3rd century B.C. for the removal of corporeal relics. The recent discovery of many terracotta sealings from a 1st-2nd century monastery at Piprahwa in District Basti of Uttar Pradesh bearing the legend "*Om Devaputra vihāre Kapilavastu bhikshu saṃghasya*" 'with slight variants' in conjunction with the Piprahwa Vase point in the same direction. Buddha's lost town of Kapilavastu was identified by K.M. Srivastava, *Vishveshwaranand Indological Journal*, XIV, pt. i (March 1977).

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place names of numerous villages in the inscriptions of the Lichchhavis which do not lend themselves to etymological analysis in the Sanskrit language, except in their terminal part, namely, of the word *grāma*. If so, it is a remarkable phenomenon that the Mallas remained under subjugation for such a long time and were not able to make any impact of their language to be felt by their contemporaries as there is no evidence of the use of the Newari language by the Mallas in the early or mediaeval period until about A.D. 1400. The Mallas of the mediaeval period as well as those of the present day were partly Buddhists and the rest were all Hindus, and they spoke then, as they do now, the Newari language. In the beginning the Mallas ruled from Patan, which, tracing its antiquity from the times of Asoka, remained the principal city in the Valley till the times of Jaya Sthitimalla (A.D. 1382-1395), when the capital was shifted to Bhadgaon (Bhaktapur), which had been in existence, as the inscriptions tell us, from about the 9th century, or even earlier.

Kathmandu, the present capital, is supposed to have been founded in A.D. 724, while according to another source it should have existed as early as A.D. 1142. But it came into prominence later, *i.e.*, in the 15th century.

The most singular event that took place in Nepal within 150 years of the founding of the new dynasty was a massive invasion of Sultan Shamsuddin Ilyas¹ and the sacking of the three cities including the temple of Paśupati resulting in the shattering of the image into three bits and a good deal of loot and plunder, besides large-scale incendiarism and destruction of temples and images, in A.D. 1349. In fact, the three cities were subjected to plunder by the invaders for seven days in succession. This happened during the reign of king Rajadeva. The country no doubt staggered under the blow but was not slow to rebuild again from the smouldering ruins.

Perhaps the most glorious period of the rule of the Mallas passed with the reign of Yakshamalla (A.D. 1428-1480). He is credited with the exploits of extending the borders of his kingdom upto Mithila, overrunning the area round Gaya and entering with his armies into the core of Bengal and pushing on to the course of the river Ganga in the south; but all his victories were short-lived.

It was this king who entrusted the guardianship and responsibility for the conduct of religious functions and the daily worship at the shrine of Lord Paśupati to the Bhatta Brāhmins of south India. This system has continued uninterrupted for nearly 500 years to this day.²

He also paved the way for the eventual downfall of the dynasty by taking the step of dividing his kingdom among his three sons and a daughter, the respective portions at Kathmandu, Patan and Bhadgaon, respectively, as their principal cities. This act resulted in weakening the solidarity of the kingdom, following the inevitable internecine

¹Petech, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-120.

²Though this is often attributed to Sankaracharya, there does not seem to be any direct evidence in support of the idea.

intrigues and conflicts, sapping the vitality of one another. The situation paved the way for the coming in of the Shah king of Gorkha, king Prithvinarayana Shah, who dealt a death blow to the hegemony of the Mallas in the central valley of Kathmandu, though he had to make several abortive attempts before he was able finally to succeed in A. D. 1768 and thus he ushered in a new period in the history of Nepal. In course of time the smaller principalities surrounding the central area of Gorkha and Kathmandu were gradually absorbed one by one into the larger political unit of the kingdom of Nepal as it came to be.

Among the galaxy of the Newari kings, the exploits of king Pratapamalla (A.D. 1641-1674) of Kathmandu must be briefly mentioned in passing. A master of several languages, he was also a great builder and in many ways a commendable poet. The palace complex of Hanuman Dhoka and the temples in the premises comprising the Taleju temple dedicated to goddess Bhavānī in the innermost court, the Jagannath temple in front of the main entrance flanking the image of Hanuman (pl. III), and the octagonal temple of Krishna, called the Chyasingdeval, opposite the Jagannath temple and the tall pillar supporting a gilt-bronze figure of himself and some members of his family, are standing tributes to his craft for building. The list can be easily enlarged. The Rani Pokhari (pl. IV) opposite the Durbar High School and located to the north of the Ratna Park, containing sacred waters from all the sacred places of pilgrimage in the sub-continent, was once again his creation as much to commemorate his deceased son as to placate and humour the bereaved mother of the prince. He was also the first among the Newari kings to recognize the rightful place of the Nepali language, which had by then spread far and wide across the hills, by engraving a large 41 line inscription at Rani Pokhari, which he meant, by a tremendous anticipation, to be a place of pilgrimage and tourist interest, to use the modern phraseology, for people from all over the Nepali speaking areas and even beyond, as it indeed is even now. His poetry composed in chaste Sanskrit is of high order, containing rich imagery and alliteration, and above all is fully reflective of the fulfilment of the religious synthesis and eclecticism that have come to stay in Nepal.

CHAPTER IV

THE SHAHS

Different theories have been advanced and advocated about the origin of the Shahs of Gorkha. One view is that they were descended of the sons of Raja Samar Singh of Chittor in Rajasthan (India). Another view makes it out that they came from Mewar (Rajasthan). Yet another view simply states that they were descended of the Suryavamsi kings of Chittor. All these theories point to Rajasthan as the original home of the ancestors of the Shah dynasty.

The cause of the renunciation of the ancestral homes and trekking across the sub-continent and seeking shelter in the rather unfamiliar terrain of hills and valleys by these remote ancestors is to be sought in the Islamic invasion of their country. It may, therefore, be inferred that the provocation leading to an exodus was not a minor affair, though the details seem now to have been forgotten. It is sometimes attributed to the invasion of Chittor by Allauddin Khalji in the beginning of the fourteenth century. The earliest princely name that emerges from the mists of history is that of Manmatha Ranaji Rawa who settled down at Ujjain. His son, Bhupal Ranaji Rawa came to Khilam in Bhirkot in Central Nepal. His second son Micha Khan became king of Nuwakot. His son Kulamardan Shah became king of Kaski. He was the first prince of the dynasty who styled himself as Shah, the family name which has come to stay. It is not, however, known for certain if the title was conferred on him by the reigning Mughal emperor of the times, as is often recounted. His son, Yasobam Shah, became king of Lamjung. But it was left to his son, Dravya Shah, to lay the real foundations of the dynasty at Gorkha, between A.D. 1559 and 1570.

The kingdom was gradually raised to a position of importance, though not yet of pre-eminence, by Rama Shah at the beginning of the 17th century. He was a contemporary of Jahangir and Shah Jahan and ruled between A.D. 1609 and 1633.

As time rolled on the kingdom of Gorkha gained in power and added to its territories. But the credit of making the ruler of Gorkha into the ruler of Nepal as we know to-day belongs in a very large measure to the vision, ambition and active endeavours of king Prithvinarayana Shah, son of Narabhupal Shah (1737-1742). Born in 1723, he gathered his first experience of administration at the young age of sixteen, in A.D. 1739, when he was appointed Co-regent along with his mother. When he came into his own three years later in 1742, as a king in his own right, he devoted himself to the realization of his dream of a large and united kingdom. He first turned his attention to the culturally rich and agriculturally prosperous kingdoms of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhadgaon, which constituted 'Nepal' of those days. These kingdoms were torn by dissensions and were considerably weakened by internecine quarrels and rivalries. The situation was ideally suited for the exploits of an adventurer. The king of Gorkha first attacked the fort of Nuwakat from several practical considerations. From the direction of Gorkha it occupied a forward outpost and as far as the kingdom and valley of Kathmandu was concerned, it served as the western gateway and controlled one of the two principal routes of trade with Tibet. The occupation of this strategic front was of great military advantage to Gorkha and served as well as an economic blockade of Kathmandu, as a result of which the Malla kingdoms were in a state of distress.

The next few years were spent in consolidating the political and military position of Gorkha by securing friendship with the principalities further west and in the occupation of a few villages in the north and west of the valley.

The next blow was aimed at the fort of Kirtipur, which guarded the western access to the valley and thus held a very strategic point, as it enabled the holder to pounce upon any advancing army of the enemy from the west as well as to cut off its retreat or drive a wedge through the advance guard and the rear guard, respectively of the attacking army. But Prithvinarayana had to undertake three successive campaigns in 1757, 1764 and again in 1767, before it yielded. In the course of the attacks he had to sacrifice the life of an able minister, Kalu Pande, and he had very nearly lost his own life as well. His own brother was hit by an arrow into his eye. After his conquest of Kirtipur he took the essential step of putting to death all the important leaders and cut off the noses and lips of all adult males except of those who depended upon playing on wind instruments to make a living. This last step led to a renaming of the township as Nasakatipur or the city of cut noses.

With Nuwakot and Kirtipur in his possession he planned his strategy of attack on Kathmandu very carefully. He stormed into Kathmandu on the night of the Indrajaatra on the 25th of September 1768, when people were in a joyous mood of relaxation and festivities and completely off guard. The last Malla king Jaya, Prakasamalla fled from the scene, leaving king Prithvinarayana to obtain the *nikā* or the mark of anointment from the Kumārī or living goddess on his forehead and thus to sanctify the event.¹

¹The tradition of the living goddess is presently a unique feature of Nepalese life. The conception owes itself to the dream of the last Malla king, Jaya Prakasamalla, of Kathmandu in A.D. 1765, (contd.)

Prithvinarayana set out in hot pursuit of the fugitive ruler and before long brought Patan under his armies and pressed on to Bhadgaon, the last bulwark of defence, where the armies of all the three kingdoms made common cause and made a last effort to save themselves from extinction. But the victory of Prithvinarayana was complete. Jaya Prakasamalla was seriously wounded by a bullet in his right leg, and the aged king Ranajitmalla of Bhadgaon sued for peace, abdicating in favour of Prithvinarayana. Teja Narasingh, the king of Patan, became a captive. Jaya Prakasamalla died of his wounds shortly thereafter and Ranajit Malla and Teja Narasingh along with the important members of the royal family were banished to Varanasi where they could spend the rest of their days in peace.

In order to secure his position in the newly conquered territories, Prithvinarayana had all the important members of the nobility in the three kingdoms put to death, as he had done in Kirtipur, thus achieving at once the double purpose of removing all potential sources of danger and of striking terror into the hearts of the people against rebellion or conspiracy at once. Already he had indicated his violent temperament by flaying alive a general named Jayant Rana, who was captured at Nuwakot. His crime was that he had earlier left the service of Gorkha and had enlisted himself in the service of Jaya Prakasamalla, and this was held as tantamount to treachery.

These were, however, the essential sacrifices required to build up a strong and united kingdom at a time when the very existence of these territories was threatened by the rising star of a foreign power in the neighbouring lands of the Indians further south, namely, the British East India Company. That the only hope of redemption in the face of such a threat lay in unity, which was a source of strength, was realized by the king early in his career.

relating to a damsel upon whom the king had an evil design. As the story goes the goddess Bhavānī threatened the king with inevitable destruction if he did not make amends for his sinful thoughts by installing the damsel as a deity and worshipping her. Jaya Prakasamalla lost no time in carrying out the bidding of the goddess. He built a shrine to the south-west corner of the palace, calling it the *Kumārī Ghar*, and had the maiden (*Kumārī*), installed in it. The practice of replacing her at puberty with another maiden chosen through a process of submitting a child of the Bañra (goldsmith) family to a frightful ordeal has continued ever since.

The child goddess is looked after by a female guardian employed for the purpose by the Religious Endowments Organization called the *Guṭhī Saṁsthān*. In fact, her family comes also to stay with her in the *Kumārī Ghar*. As she grows up her education is carried out by the *Guṭhī Saṁsthān*. At the end of her term she is sent back, and enjoys a life pension of a not too large a sum. It should be of extreme interest to know what happens to her during the rest of her life. It is considered as improper as well as inauspicious for her to marry.

The institution is an example of the religious synthesis that prevails unabated in Nepal. Coming of a Buddhist family she becomes an embodiment of Bhavānī, and during the annual *Kumārī jātrā* festival she is taken out in a procession in a *ratha* through the streets and is accompanied by Gaṇeśa and Bhairava, respectively, perched in their different chariots or *rathas*. Needless to say that the roles of Bhairava and Gaṇeśa are played for the occasion by well chosen boys of tender age.

The king himself receives her blessings and wears the *ṭikā* from her hand on an appointed day.

The conquest of the 'Nepal' valley was, therefore, only the first, though one important, step towards the unification of Nepal. Many of the smaller principalities still remained at large. These were the kingdoms lying to the west and east, respectively, of the territories occupied by the Gorkhas as well as the territories of the Senas lying further to the south.

While the smaller territories seemed to pose no serious problems, the Senas were indeed a factor to reckon with. The Senas, like the Shahs, also hailed from the direction of Rajasthan, namely, Chittor. They had come to the central part of Nepal into the Bhairahwa area to the west of the Gandakī, presumably under the same circumstances which had caused the exodus of the people of Gorkha. In course of time these intrepid warriors succeeded to the territories of their masters under whom they had sought service, and extended their territories into the west, east and south and carved out a large principality that extended from Butwal, near Bhairahawa, in the west, to Mackwanpur near Hetaura, in the east, covering the hills of the Mahābhārata ranges and the Siwaliks and the plains (Terai) further to the south.

About the middle of the 16th century (*i.e.*, from about A.D. 1553) king Mukunda Sena (I) divided up the kingdom into five parts, parcelling them out among his sons and nephews. These, however, eventually coalesced into the three kingdoms of Palpa, Tanhou, and Mackwanpur, respectively. Though the Senas were tied by matrimonial links with the Shahs, they were potentially in a position to disturb the balance of power sought to be established in the hill kingdoms with so much trouble by Prithvinarayana, as long as they remained independent. Prithvinarayana, therefore, had turned to Mackwanpur in 1762, and annexed it, even before Kirtipur was captured. Ten years later, in A.D. 1772, Prithvinarayana annexed Tanhou. Thus Palpa alone held out yet.

Prithvinarayana had his capital removed to Nuwakot from Gorkha in A.D. 1744, and to Kathmandu in 1769, after the conquest of Kathmandu, and the first Shah palace of Basantapur, adjoining the old palace of the Mallas, was built in April, 1769.

The task of the unification of Nepal was yet to be completed. In his own life time Vijayapur in eastern Nepal held by the Kirat king Budh Karan Rai, was conquered by the Gorkha troops in 1774. The Ilam area of Sikkim was conquered shortly thereafter.

In December 1774 Prithvinarayana recorded his experiences and advice to the nation in '*Divya Upadeśa*'. He made no secret therein of the danger to the independence and economy of the country posed by the English who were then spreading across the native States of India like a colossus. He urged the exclusion of the outsiders from interference in the affairs of the Nepalese and the necessity of building up local industries and resources for the prosperity of the state and subjects alike.

The great king died at a comparatively early age on the 10th of January 1775, at Devighat, near Nuwakot, of an attack of fever after having brought about a revolution

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in the lives of the Gorkhas and of the peoples of the vast territories added to the tiny kingdom of Gorkha.

He was succeeded by his elder son Pratapa Simha who ruled for a little less than three years (1775-1777). The latter in his turn was succeeded by his two year old infant son, Ram Bahadur Shah in 1777. The country was, therefore, administered by a Council of Regency, headed first by the dowager queen, Rajendralakshmi (1777-1786) and later by Bahadur Shah, the younger son of Prithvinarayana and paternal uncle of Rana Bahadur Shah.

The policy of territorial expansion and consolidation initiated by Prithvinarayana was continued during the rule of his successors with no less vigour. Kaski was annexed in 1782, and Lamjung was conquered two years later in 1784.

Between 1784 and 1790 fell the other remaining kingdoms under the unabated onslaught of the Gorkha armies, comprising Gulmi, Rupakot, Kaski, Noakot, Parbat and Piuthan. Subsidiary alliances were made with Jajarkot and Salyan, which in fact meant almost complete subjugation to Nepal. Chitawan was annexed in 1787, and Dailekh, Dullu, Doti, Achchham and Jumla were conquered in 1790.

Thus by 1790, *i.e.*, within 15 years after the death of Prithvinarayana Shah, the frontiers of Nepal were pushed forward to its present boundaries. This remarkable achievement took place over a period of 46 years, spreading from 1744 to 1790, fulfilling the dream of Prithvinarayana Shah.

The armies of Gorkha, which had by this time fought many battles and won many laurels, found new territories in the lands beyond their borders where to try their arms afresh, carried away on the crest of a wave of continued success in military campaigns which had convinced them that they were invincible.

Kumaon and Garhwal were the first territories outside the pale of Nepal proper to be conquered, in 1791, when the king of Srinagar bought peace by agreeing to pay a sum of Rs. 25,000 as ransom.

The flush of success brought these armies to Sirmur further west and north, in 1792, leading to the conquest of a part of its territories. The domains conquered by the Gorkhas so far extended from the borders of Kashmir in the north-west to the borders of Sikkim, and included all the hilly regions of the area and a correspondingly extensive stretch of the plains of the Terai.

Meanwhile the extreme youth of the king, Rana Bahadur Shah, negligence of his education and consequential development of wayward habits were taken advantage of by the courtiers whose intrigues contrived his abdication of the throne and exile to India, and the succession to the throne of another infant king, Girvan Yuddha Bikram Shah. The courtiers took full advantage of the festering situation and the country began to suffer from political instability in consequence. This is evidenced by the return of the

exiled king, after a spate of feverish intrigues and conspiracies, in 1804, and the resumption by him of the powers of the Prime Minister (Mukhtiar), and his subsequent assassination in 1806 by a half brother called Sher Bahadur.¹

The prevalent situation paved the way for the rise to power by a man of strong personality in the person of Bhimsen Thapa. A man of strong nerves and one who was thoroughly filled with a sense of pride in the greatness of Nepal, he was able to eliminate his arch enemies, the Pandes, from their position of influence and rule absolutely with a strong hand for nearly 31 years from 1806 to 1837 as the Prime Minister of Nepal. His power rested mainly upon the support of the elder queen, and as a natural corollary, on her death his power began to wane. On the return to the scene of his arch enemies, the Pandes, his power and position were threatened, and before long he was thrown into prison, as a result of the machinations of his foes and the vacillating mind of the king, and he died there by his own hands in A.D. 1839.

But the revengeful coterie of men at the helm of affairs treated Bhimsen Thapa, one of the ablest sons of Nepal, so shabbily that even after his death they were not content with his miserable end, and they prevented his mortal remains from receiving a decent funeral and made sure to heap upon his corpse the indignity of its being fed to the dogs and jackals. History has scarcely recorded a more despicable treatment of the human body and that too of one of the ablest sons of the soil. Though the head of the chronicler would hang down in shame in recording these lines, it is fortunate that this crime against decency can be attributed to the vendetta of a handful of men in power, and the stain of the heinous act would not touch the others in general.

As to the credit of Bhimsen Thapa, it may be stated at once that he had cemented the unity of the nation, and gave it a sense of dignity of independence which it has been the effort of Nepal ever since to sustain. He had called a halt to the expansionist policy of the State² as it meant the dissipation of the limited resources and energies of a small kingdom, and at the same time he rightly recognized, as king Prithvinarayana Shah had done before him, that the real threat to the independent existence of Nepal was posed by the policy of aggrandization set afoot by the British East India Company at the time.

He, therefore, sought to strengthen and modernize the Gorkha army, by engaging a French military officer for the purpose of training the troops. He further organized the army on the basis of gradation of ranks, built barracks for their residence, improved the conditions of service and the scales of pay, besides setting up arsenals for the local manufacture and storage of arms and ammunition.

¹The incident seems to have taken place not very far from the temple of Raṇamuktesvara at Kathmandu, which in fact, is a memorial to the grand relief the country had from the machinations of a diseased mind.

²During his regime, his father, the redoubtable General Amar Singh Thapa sought in vain to reduce the fort of Kangra (1809), this being the only campaign of offence in the interest of territorial expansion of the times of Bhimsen Thapa.

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With all this he was not able to prevent an armed conflict with the British power in India, who had been steadily and systematically advancing their interests ever since they had gained a foothold in Bengal after the fateful battle of Plassey in 1757. The British were interested from the very beginning to gain a foothold in Nepal as much to promote their own trade with Tibet, which was a source of great profit to Nepal from the mediaval times,¹ as to prevent the malcontents of the British territories in India from seeking shelter in the sequestered hills and valleys of Nepal as well as to prevent Nepal from being a thorn in the side of the British.

In retrospect it may be stated that when Prithvinarayana Shah had been pressing upon the last Malla ruler of Kathmandu, Jaya Prakasamalla, the latter sought the aid of the East India Company against the Gorkha ruler. The company jumped upon this opportunity to meddle in the affairs of Nepal and despatched a troop under Capt. Kinlock in 1767 but luckily the endeavour was foredoomed to failure, the troop being forced to retreat by the difficult nature of the terrain and the inhospitable climate of the area besides the hostile and unhelpful attitude of the local people in general.

Later on, Nepal made war with Tibet in 1788 over the question of trading rights, and this brought the Chinese into the field to their aid in their capacity as the overlords of the Tibetans (since 1712). The Chinese drove the intrepid Nepalese forces beyond the borders of Tibet and pursued them deep inside their own territories upto Nuwakot (near Trisuli Bazar), and even beyond. The position of Kathmandu itself was threatened, but peace was concluded, before further loss could take place, between Nepal and China in 1792. It was stipulated by the terms of the treaty, among other things, that Nepal would send a party with gifts of various kinds to the Manchu emperor in Peking every five years. The court of Nepal observed this formality, which, in spite of many adverse endeavours, can scarcely be described as a sign of Nepalese subservience to China, till 1908, as a gesture of friendliness. The Nepalese court discontinued this practice on the fall of the Manchu dynasty and the declaration thereafter of a republic² in A.D. 1911.

The Nepalese had again sought the help of the English on the occasion of the war, and the company very obligingly sent a mission under Col. Kirkpatrick in 1793 for the express purpose of negotiating the peace terms. Unfortunately, however, for British interests, the mission arrived on the scene after the treaty had already been signed.

Meanwhile the fear of the Nepalese court about the exiled king, Rana Bahadur Shah, fomenting trouble by collusion with the English in India had led the Nepalese court to come to an understanding, though much against their will, with the English, who had been insisting on the request for the opening of a Residency at Kathmandu. The permission was reluctantly granted, and the Residency came into existence in 1801. In the initial stages, however, it did not exercise much influence on the body politic of

¹One of the principal sources of profit to Nepal was the minting of coins for the Tibetans.

²The Peoples' Republic of China as we know it to-day.

Nepal. During the entire period of the Prime Ministership of Bhimsen Thapa (1806-1837), the British Resident was kept at bay, and he was reduced to the position of a mere observer.

Meanwhile differences with the East India Company about the jurisdiction over a few villages in the Terai, including Butwal and Sheorajpur, which, the British claimed, had been wrongfully occupied by the Nepalese, led to a war with the British forces in 1814-16.

The war, described as the Anglo-Gorkha War, took place as a multi-pronged attack upon Nepal waged from the directions of Ludhiana, Dehradun, Gorakhpur and Saran, while troops were stationed on the eastern front in the region of Sikkim as reserve forces for keeping watch on lateral movements of the Nepalese forces. It resulted in a defeat for the Nepalese. The treaty¹ that ended the war was drawn up and signed at Sagauli, but not before the Company's forces under General Sir David Ochterlony inflicted a convincing and crushing defeat upon the retreating troops of the Gorkhas near Mackwanpur.

The territories ceded by Nepal to the East India Company under the terms of the none too flattering treaty comprised : (a) the whole of the terai between the river Kali and Rapti, (b) the whole of the terai between the Rapti and the Gandak, (c) the entire tarai between the Gandak and the Kosi and (d) all the tarai lands between the Mechi and the Tista including the fort and lands of Nagari and the Pass of Nagarkot. The king of Nepal had to give up in perpetuity all claims to lands to the west of the Kali river and to undertake not to disturb Sikkim.

This war took place during the regime of Bhimsen Thapa and was throughout conducted under his guidance. That it brought defeat and resulted in the loss of territories is well known, and Bhimsen Thapa has been made responsible (or a seapegoat) by many for this turn of events, as he alone of all the courtiers had voted for the war. To Bhimsen Thapa's credit it may be said that he foresaw that war with the British was inevitable and felt that the sooner it was fought by the Gorkhas, who still glowed in the limelight of a series of a recent conquests, the better were the chances of giving a good account of themselves than later, when, with conciliatory efforts at negotiations with the British, greater humiliation could be forced by them, especially with more careful preparations by a better equipped army. It has been held that the war was a gamble as far as the British were concerned as their information about a terrain with which they were not well-acquainted was inadequate. But their better equipments and superior strategy

¹Though the draft of the treaty had been sent to the king of Nepal as early as the 11th December 1815, it was not ratified until the 4th March 1816. The original terms were slightly modified again in December 1816, and accordingly the Terai between the Gandak and Rapti were restored to Nepal, as its annexation was felt to be a hard term. By this treaty the British had ensured that the Government of Nepal did not engage or retain in service any subject of the British, or of any European or American State without the consent of the British authorities. The treaty also formalized the exchange of ministers at each other's court.

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paid them handsome dividends and it was just a case of chance victory in the final battle of Mackwanpur that decided the issue.

The subsequent fall of Bhimsen Thapa, in 1837, was followed by an atmosphere of intense intrigue in the court of Nepal, marked by a scramble for power among the members of the royal family as well as among the *Bhārādars* (courtiers). None of the claimants to power possessed the sagacity or capacity to rule effectively. The situation, therefore, demanded the rise to power of a person who could impose political and administrative stability on the country. Such a strong man with a deep insight of men and matters, nerves of steel, and practical shrewdness and a tremendous ambition was found in the person of an otherwise undistinguished young man called Jung Bahadur Kunwar. He was, however, already a member of the King's Advisory Council, and a grand-nephew of the late Prime Minister Bhimsen Thapa. He sought from the beginning to control all power in Nepal with the help of his brothers in view of the decrepit condition of the court, which had not been improved by his own maternal uncle, Mathbar Singh, who had both the power and prestige needed for the desired reforms, but neither the vision nor the will to introduce the needed measures to stabilize the administration of the country.

Jung Bahadur rose equal to the occasion but could not get away from the traditional manner of maintaining himself in power by contriving the destruction or emasculation of his enemies. His immediate task was the reduction of all his enemies. One of his first victims was the ill-fated General and Prime Minister, Mathbar Singh, whom he killed himself. This resulted in the removal of one of the most capable and powerful men of the times. His next victim was Gagan Singh, a member of the King's Advisory Council, and a powerful man who controlled and enjoyed the support of a substantial section of the army, and had the support of the queen whose paramour he was. He was murdered in cold blood¹ while engaged in his *pūjā* by a hired assassin at the behest of Jung Bahadur. This enraged the queen and she demanded an immediate enquiry into the murder and a quick reprisal of the miscreant and summoned, therefore, an emergency meeting of the courtiers at the Kot Palace. Then and there followed the notorious Kot Massacre on the night of the 14th September and in the early hours of the 15th September 1846 in which fifty noblemen in their prime were put mercilessly to the sword by Jung Bahadur and his supporters, the king himself barely escaping with his life. Jung Bahadur found himself next morning as the master of the situation and he lost no time to press the advantage home.

The last flicker of an effort to retrieve the terrible turn of events was made by Wazir Singh, the aggrieved son of Gagan Singh, who invited Jung Bahadur to a party at Bhandarkhal² (Kathmandu) shortly after the Kot Massacre, ostensibly, for the pur-

¹This took place on the 14th September, 1846.

²This event took place on the 31st of October, 1846. The plot was divulged to Jung Bahadur by one Vijaya Raj Pandit. As a consequence the queen's powers were revoked and she was ordered to be exiled to Varanasi.

pose of felicitating him on his capture of power though in reality he had planned carefully to contrive his murder. Jung Bahadur, however, had got wind of the plot in advance, thanks to his informers, and succeeded in frustrating the efforts of his enemies by killing another lot of 31 of his potential enemies and plotters. Fortune seemed to favour Jung Bahadur consistently as though it was the will of God.

The puzzled king, Rajendra Bikram, fled for life in fright to Varanasi¹ along with the queen whose real ambition to advance the case of her own son to the throne even by bringing about the death of the Crown Prince, Surendra Bikram, had been discovered and disclosed and she was disgraced. The king was deemed to have shirked his responsibility at a critical moment of the history of the country, and was considered as having abdicated. Thereupon the young Crown Prince, Surendra Bikram, was placed on the throne as a figurehead and all power vested in Jung Bahadur, who became the Prime Minister.

Jung Bahadur was able to achieve all this by virtue of the support of his seven brothers, and of a major part of the army. He thus initiated in Nepalese history the hereditary rule of the Prime Minister by introducing a peculiar system of agnatic succession flowing from brother to brother in the order of seniority in age.

In 1854 Jung Bahadur had himself crowned² (no doubt by the hands of the titular king) as the king of the two tiny component kingdoms of Kaski and Lamjung, and embellished with the title of Maharaja. At the same time he made the king pass all his executive and administrative powers in perpetuity to the Prime Minister by a *Sanad*.³ Peculiarly again the title of Maharaja descended to the juniors along with the post of the Prime Minister by the same process of agnatic succession.³

¹The king did not formally abdicate, but gave his *Hukum* to the Crown Prince and left with the queen for Varanasi on the 21st October, 1846. King Rajendra was subsequently deposed on trumped up charges of conspiracy against the State and the Crown Prince Surendra was crowned as king on the 12th May, 1847. When the king made an endeavour to stage a come-back from his self-chosen exile, Jung Bahadur, who had obtained prior information of his move intercepted his progress, on the 28th July, 1847 in the terai by despatching the troops for the purpose with Prince Upendra as the nominal head of the army with a view to inspiring confidence in their cause and to enforce obedience to the anti-monarchically unnatural orders of the Prime Minister. The king was captured and brought to Kathmandu and thrown into prison, inside the palace, where he lived till death relieved him of his sufferings and disgrace in 1881.

²In Nepal it is customary to apply one, two or three '*Śrīs*' to the name of the gods and goddesses as her inscriptions amply bear out from this time on. The Prime Minister, who became a *Mahārājā* of two kingdoms, was prefixed by three '*Śrīs*' and the king of Nepal, who has been traditionally called as *Mahārājādhirāja*, was prefixed with five '*Śrīs*', the even number 4 not being considered as auspicious. It is interesting to note that the Royal Priest, who also hereditarily (so far) played the role of his preceptor (*Rājaguru*), is honoured with the still higher prefix of six '*Śrīs*'.

³These rights were conferred upon Jung Bahadur by the kings by means of a '*Sanad*' whereby all the powers of the king were transferred on the 6th of August 1856 to the Prime Minister, and the king reduced himself therewith into a nonentity. These included the plenary powers over life and death of any citizen and the right to make war and peace on his own terms.

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The king was reduced to the position of a figurehead by calculated methods of obtaining complete control over his person, his movements, the choice of his companions and providing him even from the time of his boyhood with a meagre apology for education. He was, therefore, not bothered with the affairs of state. Jung Bahadur himself proved to be a man of rare sagacity, foresight and efficiency. He was a rare leader of men and was distinguished alike by his finesse and ruthlessness. As Prime Minister he was thus free to rule as he pleased.¹

Jung Bahadur who could not by any stretch of imagination trace any blue blood in his veins, and may be described as an humble beginner, also sagaciously advanced his social position by marrying his granddaughter (1857) to the Crown Prince Trailokya Bikram, thus also bringing the two families together, to prevent the possibility of the ugly head of revolt rearing its head against him, and ensuring the succession to the throne after all of his own grand-children. He himself married the sister of the last Prime Minister, Chautaria Fatteh Jung, who was a collateral of the royal family, for the twin purpose of ensuring the safety of his own life against any untoward designs of the estranged but powerful and noble family and of advancing his social position.² These were well calculated steps that enhanced the position of the family which now adopted the surname of 'Rana'³ in place of the ordinary Kunwar, to point to a princely descent from the 'Ranas' of Chittor or Mewar in Rajasthan (India).

Like his predecessors Jung Bahadur was very keenly aware of the grave danger that the English posed to the sovereignty and independence of Nepal. He, therefore, sought to cultivate their friendship only with the idea of keeping them at bay. He took steps to ensure that though the English were outwardly friendly they did not get any

¹This system of dual rule or effective rule by a minister or vassal was not new to Nepal. Perhaps the most memorable instance in her ancient history is that of Amsuvarman of the Thakuri family who jointly ruled as a vassal when king Sivadeva of the Lichchhavi dynasty was on the throne towards the end of the 6th century A.D. After the latter's death the vassal occupied the throne himself and initiated his own dynasty and a new era in A.D. 595 or 576 in preference to the prevalent one of the predecessors. In this case the old dynasty itself was totally eliminated from power or position, while Amsuvarman is known to have strengthened and raised his social and political position by marrying the king's daughter. In the new system introduced by the Ranas they retained the shadowy position of the king even as the Peshwas had done for the royal Maratha family in India.

²The policy of marriages with the royal family was one of the most far-reaching steps taken by Jung Bahadur. Jagat Jung, the eldest son of Jung Bahadur, was married to the elder daughter of king Surendra (1854). Ranajit, the younger son of Jung Bahadur married the younger daughter of king Surendra (1855). This policy was later followed by Bir Samsher whose daughters were married to King Prithvivi Bikram, but there were no issues of these marriages. Chandra Samsher married his two sons, Singha Samsher and Krishna Samsher, respectively, to the two daughters of King Prithvi Bikram (*i.e.* sisters of king Tribhuvan) and His late Majesty king Mahendra was married in succession to two daughters of the late Hari Samsher, who was son of the Prime Minister Juddha Samsher.

³The caste title or surname 'Rana' was conferred on Jung Bahadur and his family by king Surendra Bikram Shah in 1849 by a Lal Mohar issued on the 5th May, 1849.

opportunity to come too close to Nepal. With the express purpose again of enhancing his prestige and obtaining the support of the British, he paid a visit to England in 1851.¹ In London he was given a reception by Queen Victoria herself. His late arrival at the reception caused some irritation, but he carried the day with his magnetic personality and aplomb. He came back greatly enlightened as well as with an aura of greater prestige.

About this time the British power in India had been enhancing its domains and sphere of influence by imposing the clever stratagem of Subsidiary Alliances with the native states in India with a view to containing them within their territories, isolating them from one another, and ensuring military peace within the territories of such allies, and again of the ingenious Doctrine of Lapse in those States where the kings died without legitimate issues. Both these clever devices posed a danger to Nepal as well. In 1854, Jung Bahadur was able to conclude a treaty with the English by which it was ensured, among other things, that no one who was not a citizen of Nepal could claim succession to the throne of Nepal. By this masterstroke of diplomacy Jung Bahadur eliminated the possibility of Nepal ever lapsing to the occupant of the British throne.

In 1856, there was war again between Nepal and Tibet and this time Nepal fared better than on a former occasion, and, therefore, extracted very favourable terms from the Tibetans.

When about a year later the first Indian movement for freedom from the foreign yoke, otherwise miscalled as the 'Sepoy Mutiny', broke out in India in 1857, Jung Bahadur himself joined hands with the Company at the head of a large body of Gorkha troops to quell the rebels or fighters for the cause of freedom in order first to impress the British with the bravery and skill of the Gorkha soldiers and also to win their respect and admiration. These Gorkha troops helped the Company to recapture Lucknow.

In gratitude for the valuable help rendered to the British, the Company authorities returned the territories of the terai to the Nepalese. A treaty² of friendship was drawn up between the British Power in India and Nepal. It stipulated that Nepal could not enter into any alliance with any foreign power or with any native Indian prince. Nepal was not permitted to employ any foreigner in her service. All these steps were

¹It was a vary daring act indeed on the part of a Hindu in the middle of the 19th century, for any one who crossed the black waters (*kālāpānī*) was deemed to have become a *mlechchha* and fallen from his caste. Jung Bahadur, astute as he was, took steps to allay the fears of the orthodox groups of people at home by visiting places of pilgrimage in India by way of atonement for the sin of crossing the forbidden waters before setting foot on his native soil. Even his well calculated acts could not prevent the growth of a conspiracy against him on religious grounds, though as usual, it was foredoomed to failure. It failed because of the heterogenous elements involved in the plot who had no cohesion among themselves and whose primary purpose was political, though exteriorly under a religious cloak, and there was a traitor at hand to give the conspiracy away.

²By a treaty of 1885, the British could recruit Gorkha troops in the British army in India, and this event, therefore, marks the beginning of the tradition of Gurkha troops serving in the Indian and British armies (Gurkha is a distorted spelling of Gorkha which the English adopted). *contd.*

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calculated to keep Nepal weak and in isolation and without allies and thus to prevent her from going against the Company at any future date. This was almost 'like a Subsidiary Alliance which the Company had so cleverly clamped upon the princely States of India. When, after the suppression of the Mutiny or the Great Indian Revolt, some of the so-called fugitive rebels sought asylum in Nepal, Jung Bahadur refused to give them shelter¹ from practical considerations of saving Nepal from the wrath of the British, which he rightly feared for the safety of his own position, and incidentally of the country. In fairness, however, it must be recorded that he did give shelter to the wife of Nana Saheb² and the Begum of Oudh. But with Nana Saheb himself he was uncompromising, though he had helped him to dispose of his fabulous wealth of jewellery worth several lakhs of rupees by buying them up himself for a paltry sum of merely Rs. 93,000. This must be considered as generous in view of the circumstances under which Nana Saheb had sought shelter with him. In keeping with the security of the personal interests of Jung Bahadur, he could not behave as a Hindu would normally do to a refugee. The extenuating circumstances under which he acted are that he could not act otherwise than as an accredited ally of the British to one declared as a rebel and a criminal in the eyes of the latter.

Jung Bahadur believed throughout his career in keeping the British pleased and at bay³ so that they may not dispossess him of the position he had achieved. As an

It may be stated in this context that the restoration of the conquered territories was a calculated move to provide Nepal with a fertile and productive granary for an otherwise largely hilly tract, and thus to prevent her from being a thorn in the side of the British for the sheer requirement of a complacent existence which adequacy of goods ensures. This also nullified the sense of shame under which the Nepalese had been smarting on account of the humiliation of a defeat, and served at once to raise their stock as a nation and a people and promoted in them some sense of gratitude for the generosity of the British. Similar consideration had already been shown by the revision of the treaty of Sagauli in December, 1816.

¹Jung Bahadur did not encourage these rebels primarily for two reasons, namely, the fear of British displeasure at such acts and because he was personally convinced that it would be impossible for the rebels or dispossessed princes or princesses to organize either an alliance or an army strong enough to resist the well equipped and well trained armies of the British even if they used the Nepalese soil for such a purpose. Nepal was also bound by the terms of the treaty with the British against any complicity in such acts.

²In fact, Nana Saheb's wife was allowed to live in Nepal and Jung Bahadur winked at Nana Saheb's paying annual visits to his wife in the disguise of a *fakir*. It is believed that after two such visits, Nana Saheb was heard of no more.

³That the East India Company had contrived the downfall of Bhimsen Thapa, who had left no stone unturned to keep the English at bay, has been admitted by all historians. The tacit role of the Resident in the perpetration of the 'Kot Massacre' and the rise to power of a capable leader in the person of Jung Bahadur is indicated by the refusal of the Resident to admit or give shelter to the king of Nepal who had fled from the scene of the massacre on that fateful night of the 14th September, 1846, scenting that his own life was not free from danger, is eloquent witness to the Company's involvement. Incidentally, the king saved himself by taking shelter with Fattch Jung, Mukhtear.

indirect result of his policy he succeeded in keeping the country free from the direct imperial clutches of the British. It cannot be conceded for a moment that he placed the country above himself though the latter benefited indirectly from his self-centred policy. It is idle to speculate if the British could have conquered Nepal if they had sought to do so, or, if Nepal could have saved herself from the might of such an attack if undertaken with a view to conquest. As far as the British were concerned their objectives were fully realized without their having to fire a shot or spend the smallest bit of their commercial wealth on Nepal's account. The British Residency at Kathmandu served as the eyes and ears of the British power in India and exercised adequately effective watch and control over the British interests in Nepal.

Jung Bahadur did his best to keep Nepal isolated from even India and Indian influences. He did not permit the construction of any road links with India lest they should be the means of the infiltration of foreign troops or of revolutionary ideas along them. The best pieces of land and other properties were parcelled out among the Rana families and all positions of power and prestige were confined to the members of the Rana family.¹ There was no rule of law, but that of the will of the Prime Minister. Jung Bahadur, after his return from England, called into being a body called *Kausal* (Jung Bahadur's Nepalese version of Council) to codify the traditional laws of Nepal. This effort gave rise to what is known as the *Muluki Ain*, but its knowledge was confined to the members of the judiciary only.

The source of power of the Ranas lay in their control over the army,² concentration of wealth and patronage in the hands of the Rana family, the enjoyment by the Prime Minister of the power over life and death, the severity of punishments³ including mutilation, blinding, death, exile and imprisonment, etc. and the lack of education in general. But its weakness lay in the hereditary tenure of the Prime Ministership which

¹The Nepalese army was entirely under the control of the Ranas and the latter thrived on the unquestioned loyalty of the troops which is a distinctive characteristic of the Nepalese soldiery. The Rana boys were appointed Generals and Colonels of the army at birth, but sometimes well in advance of their birth. But the position of Major General and still higher ranks were reserved for the Ranas of 'A' Class. Those of 'B' class could begin as Lt. Col. and could rise to the rank of Commanding Colonels. But the Ranas of the 'C' class could not rise higher than the rank of Major in the army.

In regard to civil jobs again there were gradational limits for the different classes of Ranas. As to others, they could never go beyond any middling position, lest they should misuse their power and threaten the very supremacy of the Ranas.

²The army was divided into four commands, namely, of East, South, West and North and each was placed under a Commanding General who were under the overall control of the Commander-in-Chief working under the Prime Minister. The latter had under him a body of troops called the *Byodi Garad* or Lightning Guard to look after the personal safety of the Prime Minister, as his bodyguard.

³The severity of the punishment for theft during the period of Jung Bahadur, which was amputation of one arm for the first time, amputation of the second arm for the second time and of death for the same crime for the third time, was entirely out of proportion in respect of a people who are traditionally honest to the highest degree and could not be driven to this crime except by the pressure of extreme penury and pangs of hunger.

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did not ensure capability of efficiency and the rivalry and intrigues¹ it engendered and fostered among the rival claimants to power and position. The fact that all reforms and liberties were trampled upon mercilessly, and people were kept at the lowest level of poverty and distress throughout, were also great sources of weakness inherent in the system that was at best oligarchic.² The incredible system allowed the Prime Minister to make no difference between the State coffers and his private funds, and he was at liberty to pocket all savings of revenue over administrative expenses. with no obligation to explain his conduct to the king or countrymen. The large palace, containing over 3000 rooms and 17 courts or quadrangles, known as the Singha Durbar, and serving until recently as the Secretariat of His Majesty's Government, was initially built as the official residence of his Highness the Maharaja and Prime Minister by Chandra Samsher.³ The iron railings enclosing the verandah on the facade bore until the other day, *i.e.*, more two decades after the overthrow of the Rana regime, the monogram C.S.J.B.R. standing for Chandra Samsher Jung Bahadur Rana, either by oversight or by deliberate design to maintain it as an antiquarian relic or ancient monument.

Coupled with the concentration of power in the hands of the Ranas was the singular fact of the utter helplessness of the kings, most of whom ascended the throne while still very young.

The absence of roads inside Nepal and the lack of the means of industrialization⁴ paved the way for the economic backwardness of Nepal from which she is still strug-

¹The rules of succession were modified, often without principle, by the successive Prime Ministers to advance the cause and cases of their own children, even if they were not legitimate, and even when they did not fall in the normal order of succession. The violation of the adopted principle was begun by Jung Bahadur himself; in 1868; and it would not be surprising to see his successors emulating his example. This created factions and enemies among the Ranas who were deprived of their familiar hereditary or imagined rights. The dissatisfaction among the 'C' class Ranas became acute when they were formally excluded from the higher positions.

²The Ranas however sought to ingratiate themselves upon the eyes of the common folks by carefully cultivating a policy of religious orthodoxy in their personal lives, and this became a matter of habit and part and parcel of their lives. Out of their consideration for placating the innate orthodoxy of the people, the Brahmins were given tax-free land called *birtā*. They were also exempt from the death penalty, being considered as gods on earth (*bhūśura*).

³This palace was built at the expense of the State Exchequer for the private residence of the Prime Minister and his own office, and later sold by him to the government, which had originally paid for it for a fabulous sum of over 4 crores of rupees. The palace was completely destroyed by a disastrous fire a few years ago.

⁴The Ranas had no difficulty in obtaining all their requirements even by importing from abroad, as their palaces (*bhavans* in Nepalese parlance) would indicate. They did not require any industries for themselves, and they did not care for the needs of the masses. Besides, they feared that industrialization would usher in complications in the form of labour problems which they could ill afford to

contd.

gling hard to recover, and meanwhile paying a heavy price for all the inescapable amenities of life.

The Rana Prime Ministers sided with the British in both the World Wars, and allowed the large-scale recruitment of Gorkha soldiers into the armies. The arrangement brought enormous amounts of money into the hands of the Prime Ministers concerned, namely Chandra Samsher (1901-1929) and Juddha Samsher (1932-45), each of whom received a handsome amount for every soldier recruited. The vast amount of money thus amassed at the expense of the recruits may well be imagined. Yet another cause of the weakness of the Rana system (Ranarchy) was the division of the Rana Society into the classes,¹ namely, 'A', 'B' and 'C', respectively, corresponding to the ones who were in the line of succession to the Prime Ministership, those who were not so entitled and those who were less fortunate, introduced by Prime Minister Chandra Samsher Jung Bahadur Rana (1901-1929). This caused great resentment, disappointment and dissatisfaction among the Rana Tribe and was one of the contributory causes of its downfall.

Thus during the 104 years of Rana rule there have been eight Prime Ministers, the most powerful of whom were of course, Jung Bahadur (1846-1877), Chandra Samsher (1901-1929) and Juddha Samsher (1932-1945), respectively. The period has also witnessed the reign of seven kings in succession, none of whom, except kings Mahendra and Birendra, ascended the throne as adults. During this period the only prince who made a conscious and deliberate effort to overthrow the Rana regime was Trailokya Bir Bikram, but he had to pay for his temerity in fighting for his birth right with his life, being poisoned by the Ranas. Though in the direct line of succession after Surendra Bikram, he died a mysterious death in his prime.

During the Rana regime the dispensation of justice and administration rested entirely with the Prime Minister, though he was assisted in this task by a hierarchy of officers composed of those who were in the service roll of Prime Ministers in the order of seniority. This body consisted of the Prime Minister, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Commanding Generals of the Eastern, Western, Southern and Northern Commands of the Army, respectively. The Ranas sustained themselves in power entirely with the help of the army and the loaded administration emerging from such a system.

The policy established by Jung Bahadur during his tenure (1846-1877) was pursued by his successors till 1951 for a period of 104 years. The first World war blew

suffer. The Ranas enjoyed the luxury of automobiles, which in dismantled parts were transported by headloads, carried by groups and relays of porters across the hills into the valley of Kathmandu, though not all its roads were fit for motor traffic. In fact, Deva Samsher, who wanted to industrialize Nepal and even sought to introduce the Japanese method of cultivation as early as 1901, was considered as a renegade and bundled out of office under threat of death within three months of being in office and exiled to Dhankuta.

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over barely affecting Nepal. But soon after the freedom movement in India gained a new momentum under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The freedom movement culminated in the clarion call for Civil Disobedience rung out by Gandhiji in 1922. The far sighted British clearly saw the writing on the wall, and turned to the last source of a support for their imperialist hegemony, to friendly Nepal. The rebels from India were no doubt likely to seek safety in the wide lands of Nepal. To prevent them from finding a bulwark for their operations, and to strengthen their own position in the event of a showdown, the British very sagaciously and formally recognized the independence and sovereignty of Nepal in 1923. One may of course question the propriety and justification of this declaration in the case of a state that had been axiomatically enjoying sovereignty and independence by their own right since times immemorial, unless it was at Nepal's own instance.

The World War of 1939-45 and its aftermath could not leave Nepal unaffected even in its isolation. The gradual opening up of educational institutions and the the contact of young Nepalese radicals with the freedom fighters of India¹, made the Nepalese people conscious of their rights as individuals. The independence of India was an eye-opener for the Nepalese and they made thereafter a concentrated effort to throw off the hated yoke of the Ranas. His Late Majesty king Tribhuvan himself played an active role in the ushering in of the freedom that Nepal enjoys to-day. The *coup-de-grace* was delivered by the flight², on the plea of going out on a hunting excursion, of the royal family into the Indian Embassy at Kathmandu, then at Sital Nivas, on the way to Budha Nilkantha, deluding the guards employed by the Rana administration on the 6th November, 1950. The subsequent asylum and support that India afforded to the royal family shook the Rana administration to its very roots. Their last minute action to denounce and disinherit the king and the Crown Prince and to crown the second son of the then Crown Prince, viz., H.R.H. Gyanendra who had been left behind with his grand-parents as king³ and even in the overnight striking of coins in his name did not succeed in stopping the inevitable progress of history and the logical culmination of events. Thanks to the support the then Government of India gave to the royalty by arranging for the flight of the royal family to Delhi, the Ranas were

¹The Ranas had tried their best to prevent such a course of events, which, they had realized, could be catastrophically disastrous to their power, position and privileges, and their fears eventually proved to be true.

²This event of great significance and historical importance was brought about by a series of negotiations between the Govt. of India and the king, aided and abetted by a foreign lady named Erika, who had ensconced herself in the palace as a psychiatrist entrusted with the treatment of the queen's ailment. The Indian Ambassador who played a significant role in the negotiations which culminated in the flight was Sir C.P.N. Singh. The king and party were flown by a special plane to Delhi on the 10th November, 1950.

³The coronation of H.R.H. Prince Gyanendra took place on the 7th November 1950. He had been left behind with the family of Hari Samsher, his maternal grandfather, probably to allay the suspicions of the Ranas, particularly, also because he was too young to participate in the rigours of a hunting party.

thwarted in their plans. Before long the king returned to Kathmandu from New Delhi on the 15th February 1951, and on the 18th February issued a Royal Proclamation by which a popular form of Government with the last Rana Prime Minister Mohan Samsher as the Prime Minister of a Cabinet of 10 Ministers was introduced.¹ The situation had changed overnight as though by a miracle. The curtain was thus rung down at last on the 104 year old oligarchy or family autocracy of the Ranas as a result of the cumulative effect of several circumstances acting in combination.

But the efforts to institute a popular form of Government during the next nine years of the formative period of the modern history of Nepal were beset with many problems and difficulties from the outset. The ultimate break-down of the system led the king² to abrogate the constitution and introduce his direct rule in 1960.³ The system of Government subsequently developed in 1962, continues to this day, designated as the Panchayat Democracy.⁴ That the country has become the cynosure of the

¹Shri B.P. Koirala was appointed as the Home Minister of the first Cabinet.

²King Tribhuvan died on the 13th March 1955, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva.

³The Royal take-over on the 15th December 1960, was preceded step by step of a proclamation on February 1958 by the king to hold elections to the Legislature and form a popular government on the basis of popular verdict, the drafting of a constitution in 1959, elections, and the formation of a popular government with Shri B.P. Koirala as the first elected leader of the Nepali Congress Party and Prime Minister of Nepal on the 27th May 1959. Thus the period of a little over 8 years was spent on experimentation with different kinds of government which did not have the support of the people. Even the first popular Govt. could not sustain itself in power owing to internecine factions and selfish policies which had plagued it from the inception.

⁴The entire kingdom under the system was divided into 14 Zones or *Añchals* and 75 districts. The *Añchal* is administered centrally by a Zonal Commissioner or *Añchalādhīś* through the centrally appointed District Magistrates of the component districts, who are designated as *Sahāyaka Añchalādhīśes* (i.e., Asstt. Zonal Commissioner). The administration is actually to be carried out by representative bodies beginning with the *Grāma Pañchāyats* and *Nagar Pañchāyat* elected by adult franchise. These *Pañchāyats* again elect the district body called the *Zillā Pañchāyats*. The *Zillā Pañchāyats* elect representatives of the *Zonal Pañchāyat* and the *Zonal Pañchāyats* send their representatives to the *Rāshṭriya Pañchāyat* or the National Parliament. The elections are fought on individual merits, the party system being not allowed by the king's decree. While the regional *Pañchāyats* concern themselves with local problems and local administration they are guided from the centre through its representatives and the policy adopted tend to be uniform. Though the *Rāshṭriya Pañchāyat* can and does frame laws, they are guided by the throne. But the legislation is subject to the crown's approval. The Ministers carry on the day-to-day administration of the various departments consigned to their charge, but the policy is subject, in every case, to the crown's approval. The Ministers themselves are not chosen by the Legislature but by the king and hold their position at his pleasure, and therefore, they are not directly answerable to the Legislature. This system of democratic government is limited or circumscribed by its very nature and is, therefore, rightly described as 'Guided Democracy' and is probably best suited for the requirements of a nation emerging from a century-old slumber during a period, when the world has made tremendous progress in all directions of life. However, at the time of going to press a referendum on the desired system of Government, has been promised by the reigning king, Birendra, and the future shape of things in Nepal is any body's guess, in view of his liberal outlook.

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world and has recorded a great deal of progress with the aid received from different countries and that the system has obviously succeeded in enhancing its trade and revenue, and in keeping the people reasonably happy if not complacent by bringing about larger amenities to the folks than they have ever known before is at once a tribute to the utility and success of the system and to the sagacity, foresight and wisdom of the king. The late king, Mahendra, had also introduced during his time many revolutionary social changes such as the equality of all before the law, equality of the sexes, monogamy, equality of opportunities for all, abolition of untouchability and the like, besides the clamping of a ceiling on the holding of lands, withdrawal of excesses over the ceiling, and a policy of equitable distribution of land among the landless masses and the prohibition of the feudal system of forced labour on the fields by the serfs living off the land. Nepal became a member of the United Nations in 1950, and has adopted a policy of neutrality, non-alignment and friendship for all, which she seeks steadily to maintain. The country has been trying its hardest to improve its economy by introducing improved methods of cultivation which is the mainstay of the people, improvement of livestock through the adoption of modern and scientific methods, enhancing her forest products, rapid industrialization, provision of larger educational facilities for greater technical efficiency, eradication of malaria and tuberculosis and general improvement of health and sanitation, and the building up of an artery of modern roads for quicker movement of men, dissemination of information and intelligence, transport of raw and finished materials, the industrial products, besides the imports and exports etc. All these are calculated to raise the revenue and national income of Nepal and improve the standards of living of the masses. The revision of the judicial system by the codification of the law, and the institution of a Supreme Court,¹ with a hierarchy of courts below it called the Anchal and District Courts, respectively, has made justice easily available to the masses as it has meant the introduction of the rule of law in place of the force of a judicial system under the Ranas.

¹Called, by an interesting combination of Sanskrit and Persian words, as the "*Sarvochcha Adalat*".

CHAPTER V

THE ENSEMBLE OF ARCHITECTURE OF NEPAL IN GENERAL

1. INTRODUCTION

The many aspects of the ancient and still living traditions of Nepal are as portrayed in her geographical setting and history, religion and culture, crafts and industries, apparel and jewellery, languages and literature, the uniqueness and diversity of her peoples of many hues and above all her arts and architecture. Of these, the last, viz., architecture provides a background and frame for and gives a visible shape to the diverse aspects of culture and forms at once the most variegated and complex and yet unified miscellany of her fruitful and utilitarian creations. One can indeed cite with justification the distinctive and yet attractive character of the traditional architecture of Nepal. A general account has already been given in the Introduction (pp. 1-7 *ante*).

2. ARCHITECTURAL ENSEMBLE IN NEPAL

A. GENERAL.—The architectural ensemble of Nepal comprises a motley assemblage of *pāṭis*, *powāhs*, *stūpas*, *dhuṅge-dhārās*, common man's houses, and palaces, and monasteries and temples. Each different type of structure has its distinctive character and utility but is linked with one another by common ties of technique and style.

B. PĀṬI.—A *pāṭi* is the simplest *dharmasālā* or the way-farers' rest house, comprising a covered platform, with usually the rear wall and occasionally one on the side as well, leaving three to two sides open. Any one who has traversed the countryside would have noticed how tired groups of humble folks, trudging along barefooted, bent under a heavy load of their *ḍokos* (baskets) tied at their back and held in place by means of sturdy straps fixed across the forehead or scalp, deposit their load on the floor of the *pāṭi*, rest a while, smoking a cigarette and, when refreshed, are on their way again.

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C. POWHĀS.—A *powāh* is a larger *pāti* and has a hall often with an upper storey, and is usually an adjunct of a temple where pilgrims may stay for a few days; or it stands alongside the ancient routes (footpaths) of trade where people on a long journey may spend the night after a long march and be on their way again in the morning.

D. STŪPAS AND CHAITYAS.—Filling the landscape of the valley, and beckoning the onlookers towards their inner mystery, are the numerous *stūpas* and *chaityas* all over the place. The *stūpas* in fact should be the entombment of the corporeal relics of the Buddha, Bodhisattvas or monks of high order, symbolizing a macrocosm within a microcosm. The *stūpas* usually consist of a square or circular base, a drumlike hemispherical body and a square or a rectangular enclosure over the centre of the hemisphere, with a tapering umbrella consisting originally of 3 and later of 13 concentric rings crowned finally by a finial called *gajura*. Usually a distinction is made between the *stūpa* proper and the *chaitya* in Nepal. The former is regarded as containing actual human remains inside, while the latter is merely commemorative and symbolic. The distinction would really be valid if there was actual evidence about the contents in hand. Excavation alone would establish the truth, but since any tampering with such structures would be held as sacrilege, one has only to depend on the tenacious tradition.

Tradition has laid down that the *stūpas* should be of three kinds to serve different purposes. They can be: (i) *Śārīrika* (embodying the mortal remains such as bones), (ii) *Pāribhogika*, containing objects used by the Buddha or the Bodhisattvas, and (iii) *Uddeśika* (commemorative). It is the *Uddeśika stūpas* that are called *chaityas* in Nepal in common parlance.

Two large *stūpas*, one near Pulchowk at Jawalakhel on the way to Lalitpur (Patan) and the other (pl. V) near the Industrial Estate, Lalitpur, among a group of five, almost cardinally arranged, in this township, are almost in their pristine condition and are traditionally attributed to Asoka. The *stūpas* at Bodhnatha (pl. VII) and Swayambhunatha (pl. VII) at the N.E. and N.W. ends of Kathmandu, respectively, are considered as among the oldest in the evolution of *stūpas* in Nepal, though they are regarded as *Chaityas*. Examples can be multiplied. A reference may be made in passing to the miniature *Chaityas*, built entirely of stone and standing on a series of concentric platforms which are met with almost anywhere, i.e., inside courtyards of houses, at street corners, in the quadrangles of monasteries, or even in the middle of roads. These easily date back to the times of the Lichchhavis, as is established by the occurrence of Lichchhavi inscriptions on such relics available in the premises of the Paśupati temple and in Lalitpur.

The 1969 excavations at Tilaura-kot in district Taulihawa by T.N. Mishra of the Deptt. of Archaeology, HMG, have brought to light two brick-built *stūpas* which rise from the surface to a height of over 2 metres. This brings another style of *stūpas* into this complex. The *stūpas*, however, did not yield any human relics. It is, therefore,

premature to make further comments on these discoveries which are yet to be fully studied or reported.

It will not be out of place to present a summary of the development of *stūpa* cult in this context.

E. DHUNGE-DHĀRĀS—Among a people to whom protected water supply was a luxury until the other day, nature's immense resources came easily to be tapped to meet an essential requirement of life. The myriads of channels of water flowing down the slopes of hills, often through mysterious subterranean passages, were fitted with stone spouts simulating mouths of crocodiles (*makaras*) often several in a row, depositing their waters into a shallow pool below. The spouts or *makara-dhāras* (pl. VIII) are nicely placed in symmetrical manner and made to appear from a vertical wall. There is often a little enclosure around the shallow pool, sometimes with multiple and concentric platforms reaching up to the ground level from below. The approach to the *dhārā* and the water's edge is by means of a stone staircase facing the *dhārā*. The number of the *dhārās* may vary from 1 to 22 (pl. IX) or more.

The humble folks have been traditionally collecting their drinking water here and washing their clothes or even taking a bath in the open at the *dhārā* from the days of old. The evidence is to hand that they are at least as old as the 4th century A.D., when the Lichchhavis began ruling over the Kathmandu valley. The tradition of course must be even older and the Lichchhavis may have simply systematized and given an artistic shape to the existing form of an essential amenity in the lives of the people.

The crocodile is the *vāhana* (vehicle of transport) of Ganga who was conceived of as a goddess. The idea of using the *makara* spouts (pl. X) in the channelized waters seems no doubt to have been inspired by the attribution of the qualities of the waters of the Ganga, viz., its purity and sanctity to the waters used by the folks. Simultaneously the blank spaces or niches between the *dhārās* (spouts) on the stone-built walls of the *dhārās* are filled with figures of gods and goddesses of all denominations to command and compel the veneration of the people and to enable them at once to purify their daily worship as is the custom in the country as well as in India after the bath. They are variously called *makara-dhārā* or *dhunge-dhārā* or simply, in brief, the *dhārā*.

There is yet another type called *tūte-dhārā* which is simply a stone cistern with an outlet. The water is to be carried from elsewhere to fill the cistern which is then used as a reservoir and utilised by the short spout that is fixed into it.

Though still useful, the days of the *dhārās* in the Kathmandu valley are numbered in view of the onslaught of the pipe-borne waters from the waterworks of Sundarijal on the north-eastern fringe of the Kathmandu valley or elsewhere. Fortunately, failures of supply or a sudden pipe-burst or the absence of a pipe in many a humble household, have helped to prevent the total disuse or disappearance of the familiar landmark, which was once the daily haunt of the womenfolk for collecting water for the household

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and for their daily cleaning and washing, besides being a *rendezvous* for social gatherings every day, encouraging exchange of courtesies and news and gossip.

Apart from the sentimental value of the *dhārās*, comparable to the large draw-wells of the countryside in India, they formed an integrated sculptural-cum-architectural pattern, involving care in the selection of the site and the bequest upon it of considerable beauty by deliberate human planning and care. These were erected by the orders of the kings or other donors in ancient times, as inscriptions clearly show. They were also sustained by either the administration in power or the ancient prototypes of modern municipalities or a guild *pāñchālīka* set apart for the purpose. Land was also set apart for meeting the expenditure in connection with the maintenance of the *dhārās* in good repair and in a state of cleanliness. They were also protected from the vagaries of weather by a shed built of stone pillars supporting usually a thatched roof.

The days are not far off when suddenly they would be a thing of the past, being either brushed aside or buried into the earth and consigned by neglect to eternal oblivion, particularly in view of the inundation of modern installations of pipe-borne water that are more handy and sophisticated than these poor legacies of tradition. With the coming in of water into every household, the utility of the *dhārās* would have gone and an ancient institution would have disappeared from the horizon, notwithstanding the fact that *dhārās* have been rapidly rebuilt, cleaned and repaired by the successive of dynasties ruling in Nepal, following the Lichchhavis, almost upto the present day, as inscriptions left behind bear ample evidence.

F. RESIDENTIAL HOUSES :—The humble private houses of the people filling all habitable space in the Valley and higher up in the hills have a distinctive character and dignity of their own. Neatly arranged in groups, one house adjoining the other, or with a common wall in between and built on either side of a street or in complete isolation in the midst of the cultivable fields or in the centre of an orchard, they have in each case irresistible charm. Each house normally has at least three floors, *viz.*, the ground, first and second floors, respectively, and it is covered by gable-ended roof of tiles with a median ridge. Owing to the high moisture content in the earth, which rises up by capillary action, the ground floor is usually very moist and cold and, therefore, not suitable for human habitation. This feature is intensified by the absence of the damp-proof course so essential for hygienic and scientific living. This feature is also necessitated by proneness of the area to earthquakes and is to be found in comparable terrains of north-eastern India, *i.e.*, Assam and Meghalaya. The ground floor is often built upon a hollow plinth with outlets on the sides for the escape of entrapped gases and moisture. This floor is usually employed for the household animals like cows, buffaloes, goats and fowl, and of course fodder in the countryside, and as shops in the townships and cities. The first floor, divided up into a number of small living rooms, is used for actual habitation and the topmost floor is used as a

kitchen, store and dining room, etc. There are sometimes dormer-windows in the centre of the sides of the top floor slightly projecting from the facade to let in light and at the same time to serve as a passage for the escape of smoke. This arrangement is also necessitated by the absence of chimneys for either heating the rooms or for the escape of smoke and gases. The chimney is avoided as it tends to further reduce the already constricted space in the small rooms.

Most houses do not have built-in privy or bathrooms for reasons of economy and cleanliness. In a largely rural country in Nepal as well as in India, where facilities for drainage are limited and where the freshness of the open air held a sway far more compelling than the call of convenience or comfort, the idea of a closet within the living space was not, in the fitness of things, a very welcome idea.

The houses of the Newars are built adjacent to each other around a small square or a rectangular courtyard or a quadrangle, often with one or more *chaityas*, built of stone, or as structural edifices on the premises of the quadrangle, to serve as domestic chapels or shrines. Unavoidably some of the houses stand adjacent to a street. The enclosed quadrangle also lends a degree of privacy to the inmates from the gaze of the passers-by on the road outside as also a sense of collective security against extraneous inroads.

Though the houses vary in size or shape, the pattern is almost uniform, but individual houses are often distinguished by decorative windows and window-frames of beautifully carved wood (pls. XI and XII). The windows are usually filled with trellis panels which provide privacy, apart from letting in light and air for the inmates, while enabling them to look upon all that passes on the street below running along the houses, being themselves almost unseen. These are usually on wooden hinges and are reinforced by an additional set of solid panels which could be lifted up when needed and let down and fixed in position to prevent cold winds or dust from blowing in. The most distinctive pattern worked out on the windows is a proverbial peacock (pl. XIII) or lotus (pl. XIV), of which but a few specimens are still extant, but they are well on their way to extinction for lack of patronage in modern times owing to their prohibitively high cost. The patterns, strange to say, are worked out very skilfully with small bits of wood, cut to the required shape and size to form the intricate but geometrically accurate pattern of an exquisite beauty. The word *āṅkhā-jhyāl* used for the windows in Nepali, is so called because the windows are not merely reminiscent of eyes in their shape,¹ but also serve as eyes through which the inmates may peep to have a look at the outside world. They are thus reminiscent also of the word *gavāksha* meaning the cow-eyed, which has become a synonym for the windows, obviously in view of the shape of windows in early days. An exception, however, is to

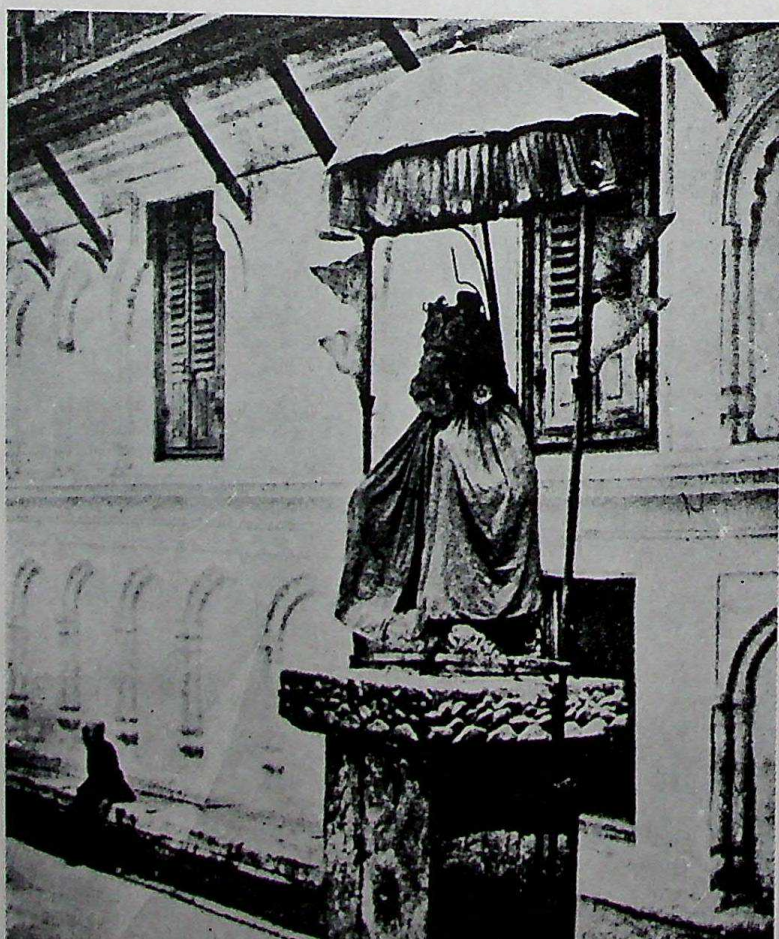
¹The idea of the window serving as eyes has been adverted to in the *Mahāvamśa*, vide W. Geiger, *The Mahāvamśa*, 1912, p. 183, Ch. XXVII, 16.



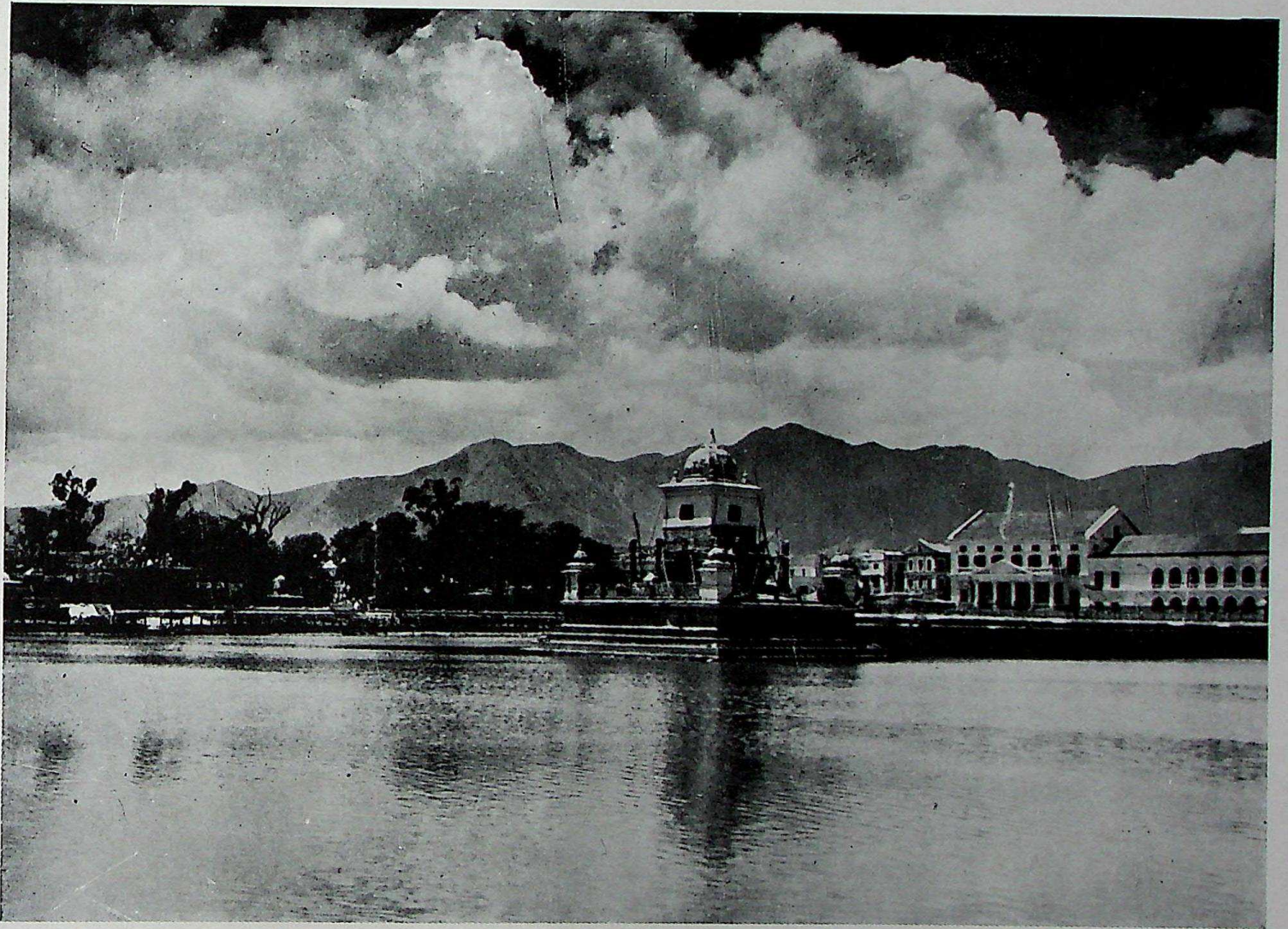
Pl. I. Patan : Asokan *stupa* at Pulchok.



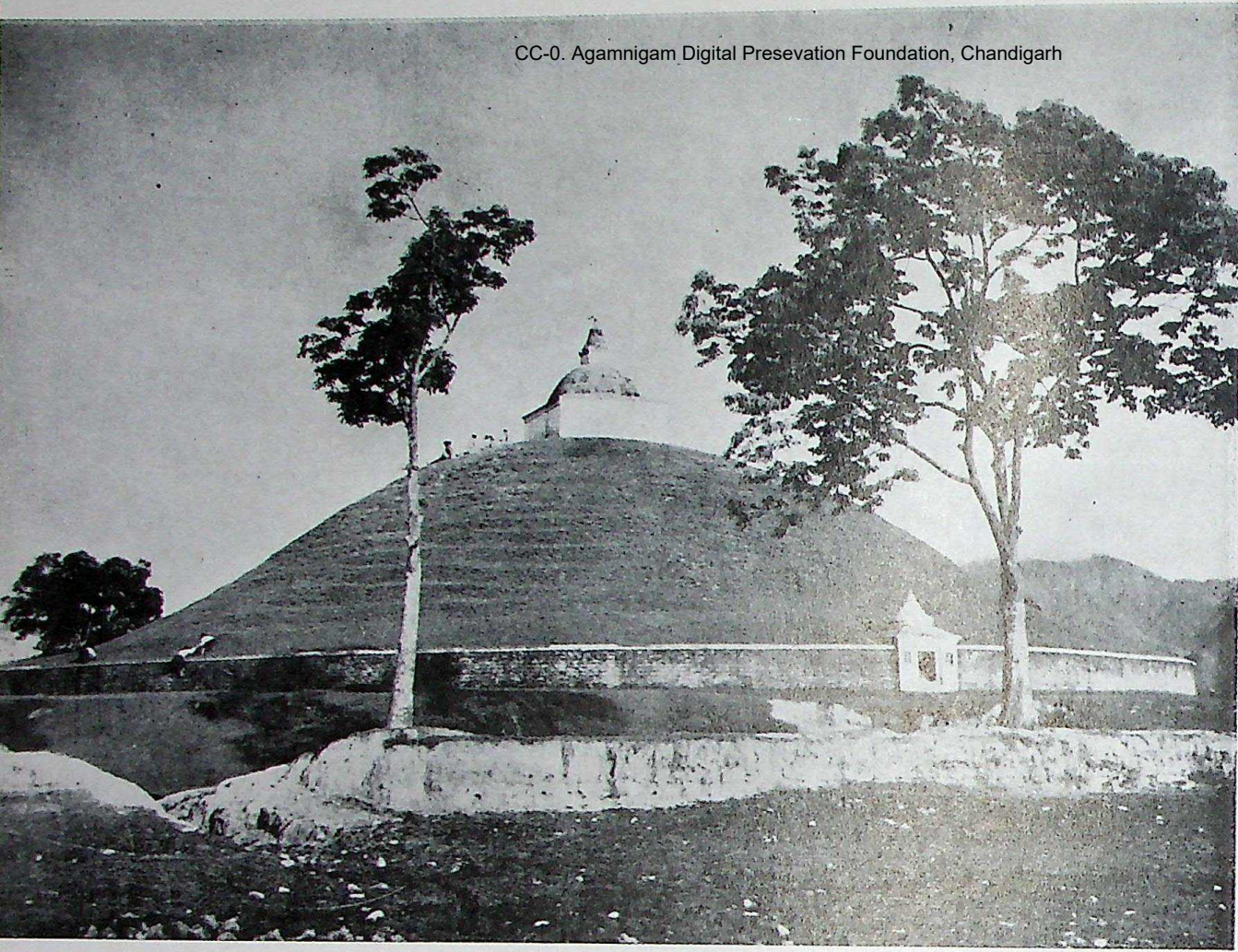
Pl. II. Deopatan : *stupa* at Chabahil.



Pl. III. Kathmandu : Figure of Hanuman at entrance to Hanuman Dhoka Palace (17th century).

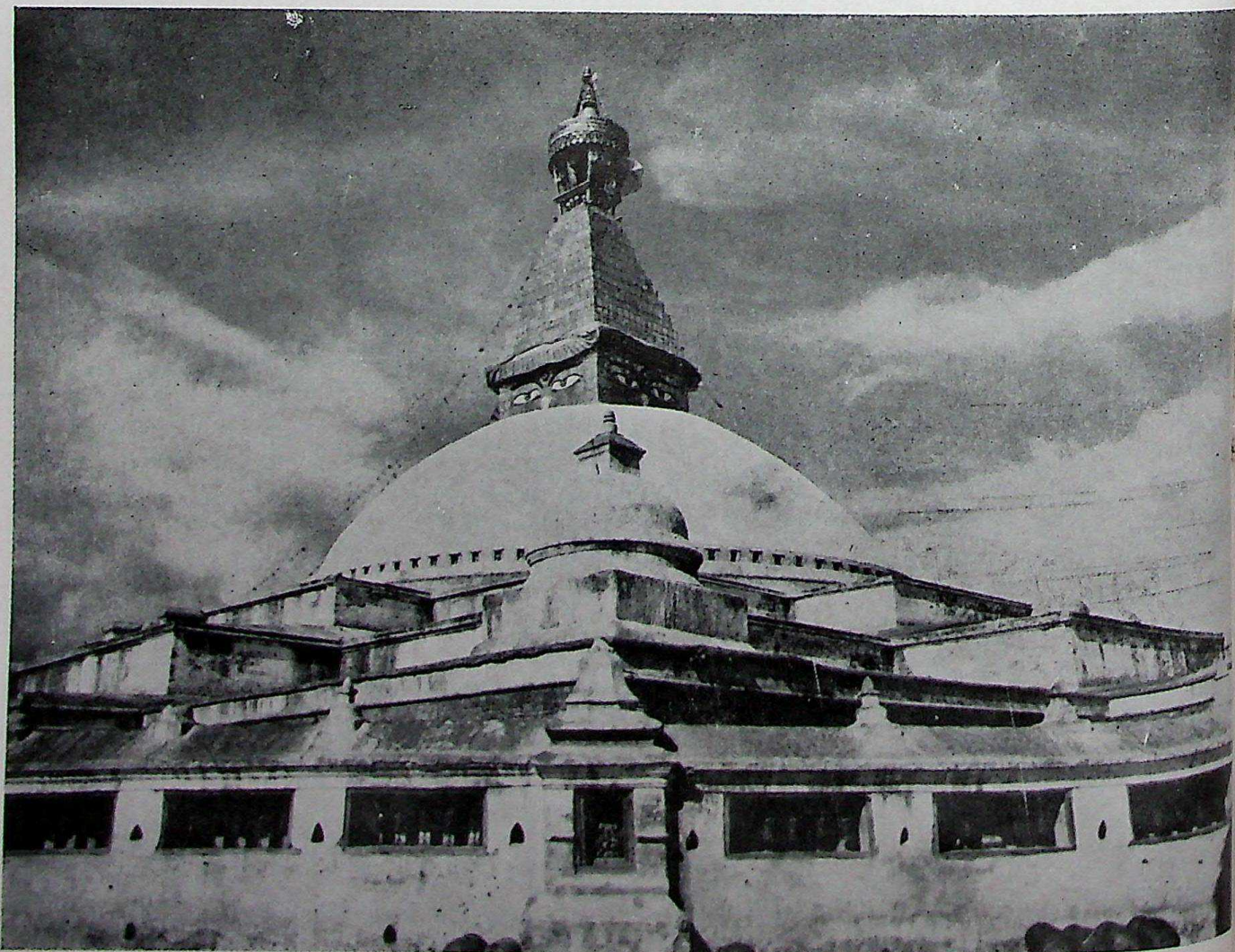


Pl. IV. Kathmandu : Rani Pokhari (17th century).



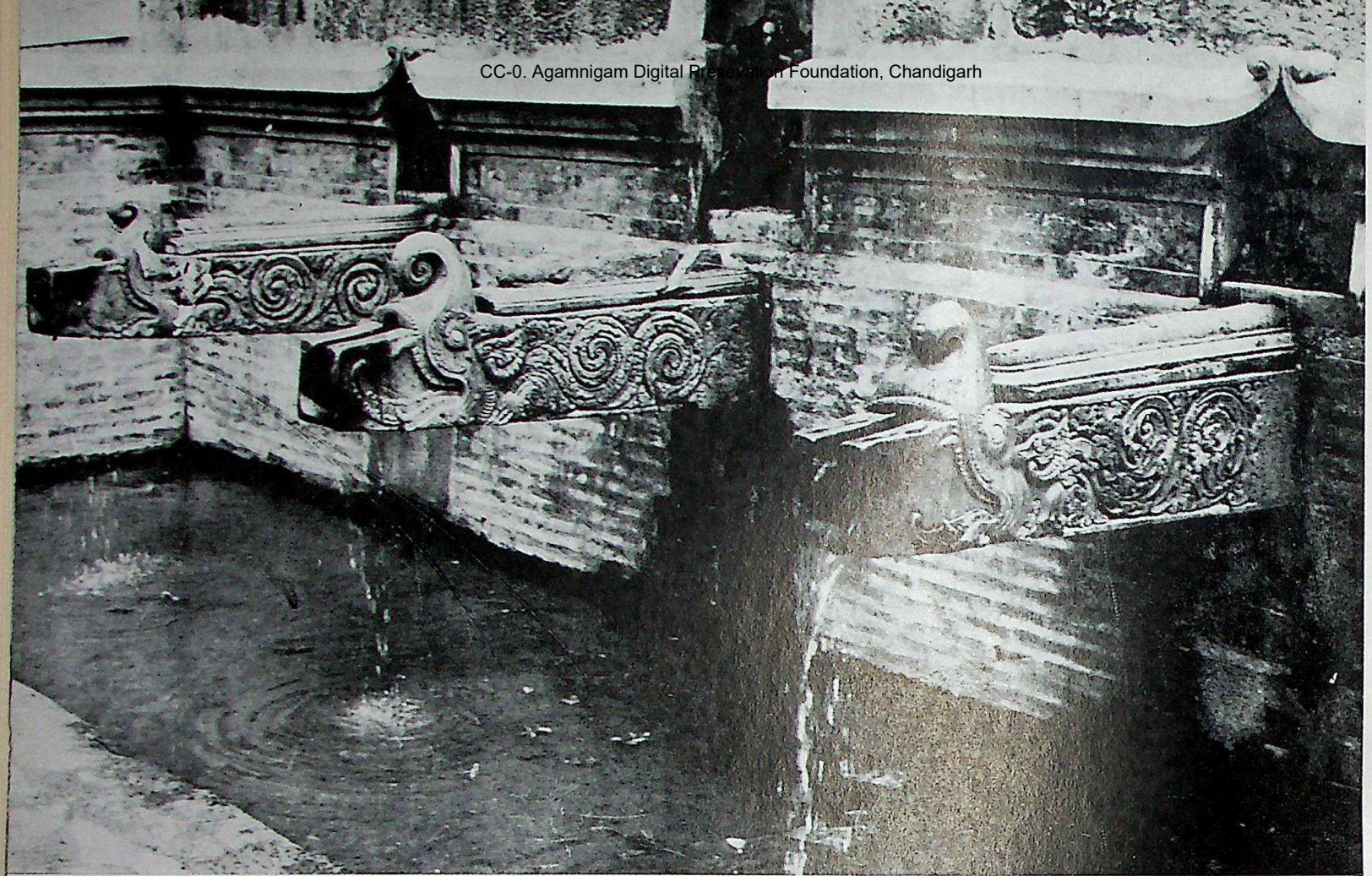
Pl. V. Patan : Asokan *stupa* near the Industrial Estate.

Pl. VI. Bodhnath : The *stupa* (17th century).

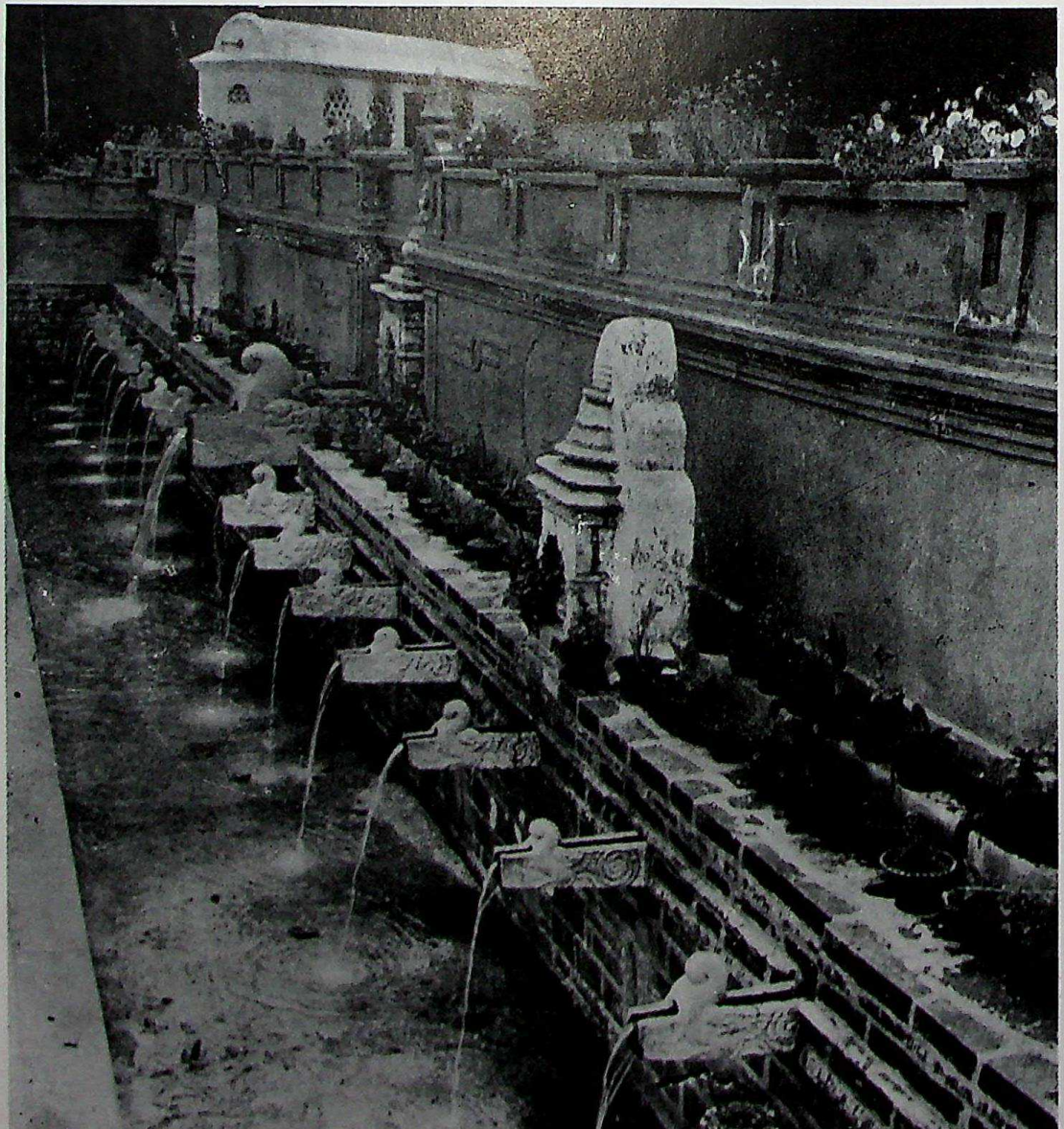




Pl. VII. Swayambhunatha : The *stupa* (17th century).

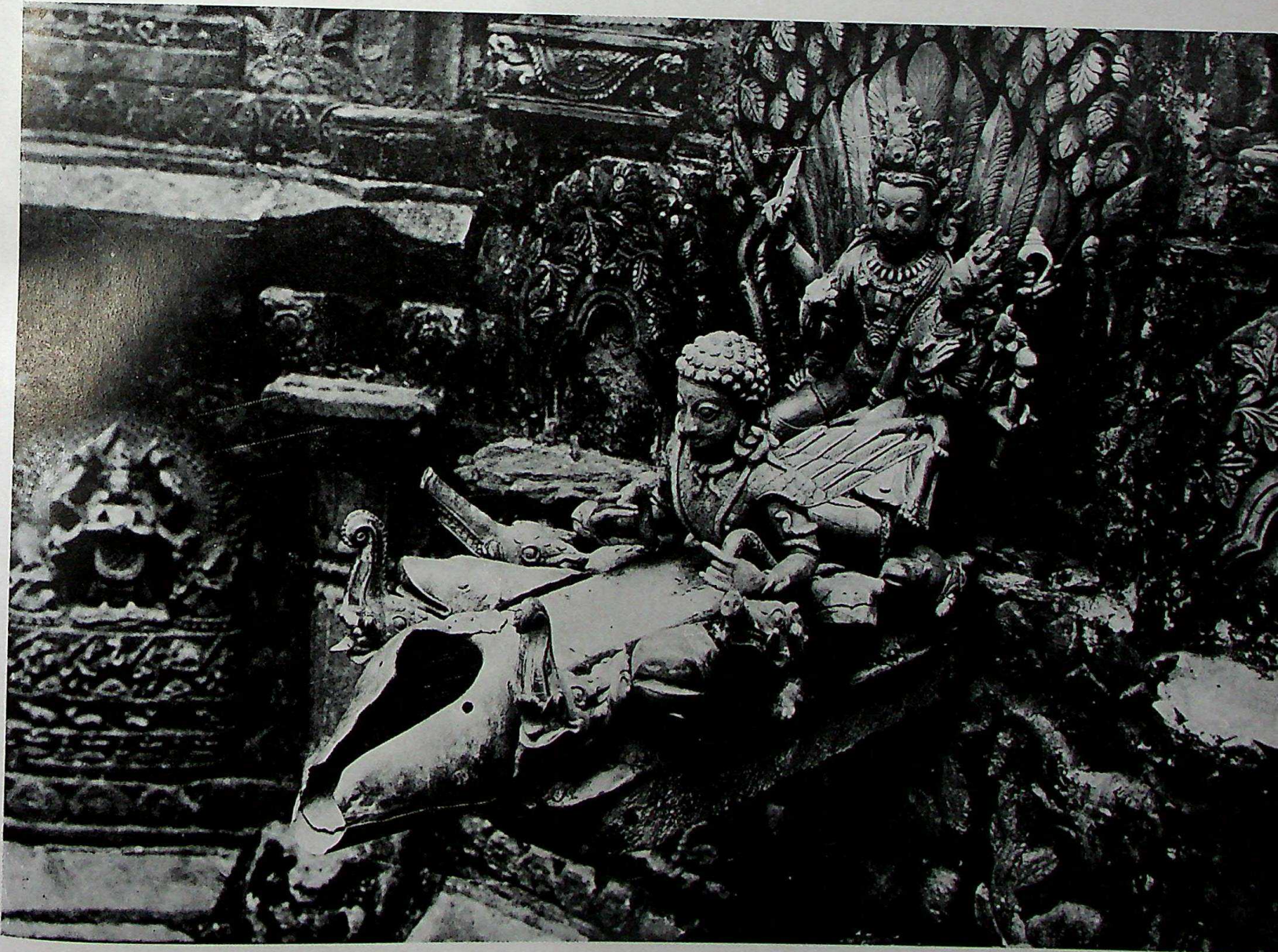


Pl. VIII. Patan : Makaradhārā
near Kumbhesvara temple.

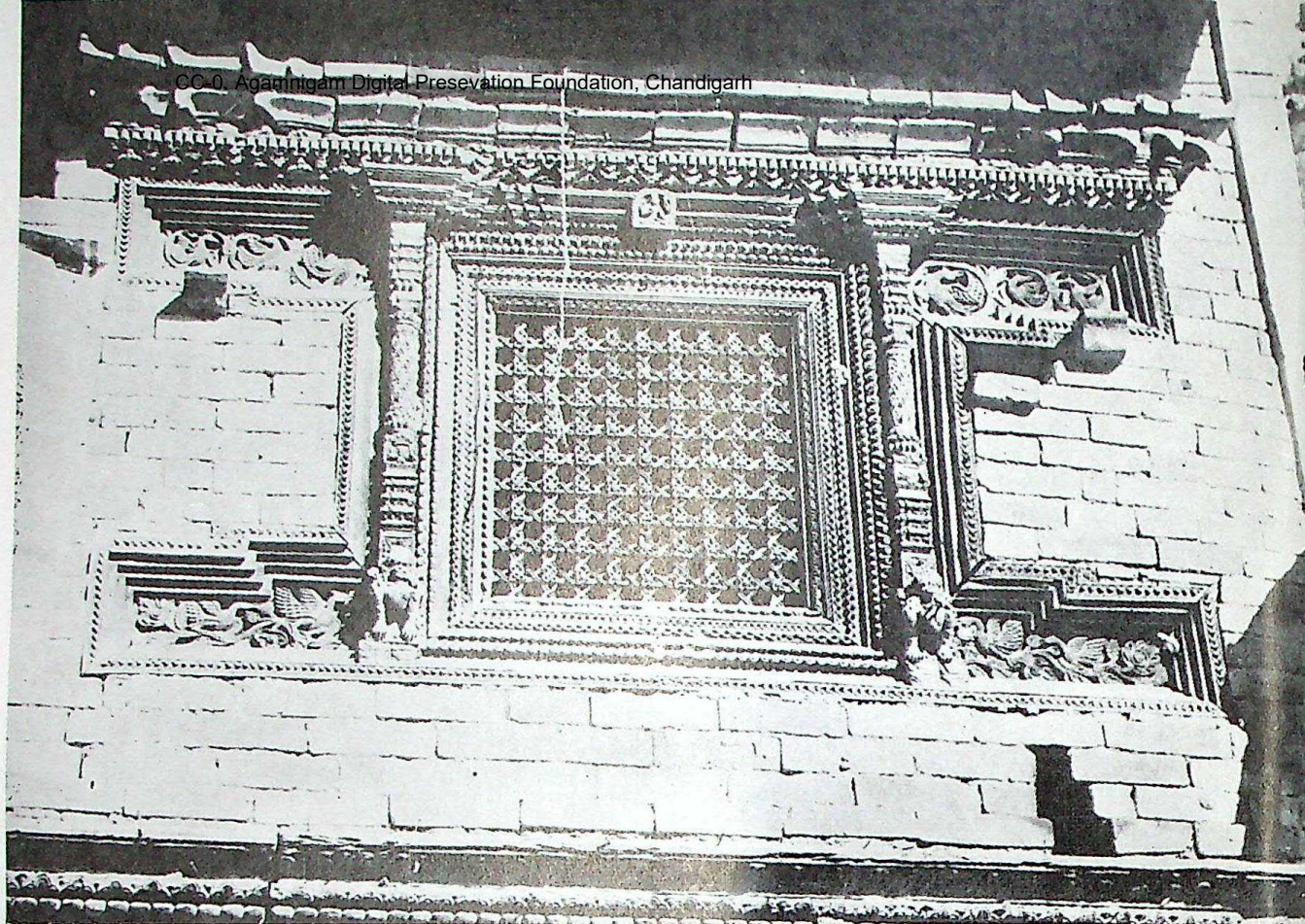


Pl. IX. Balaju : The *Bais dhārā*.
(19th century).

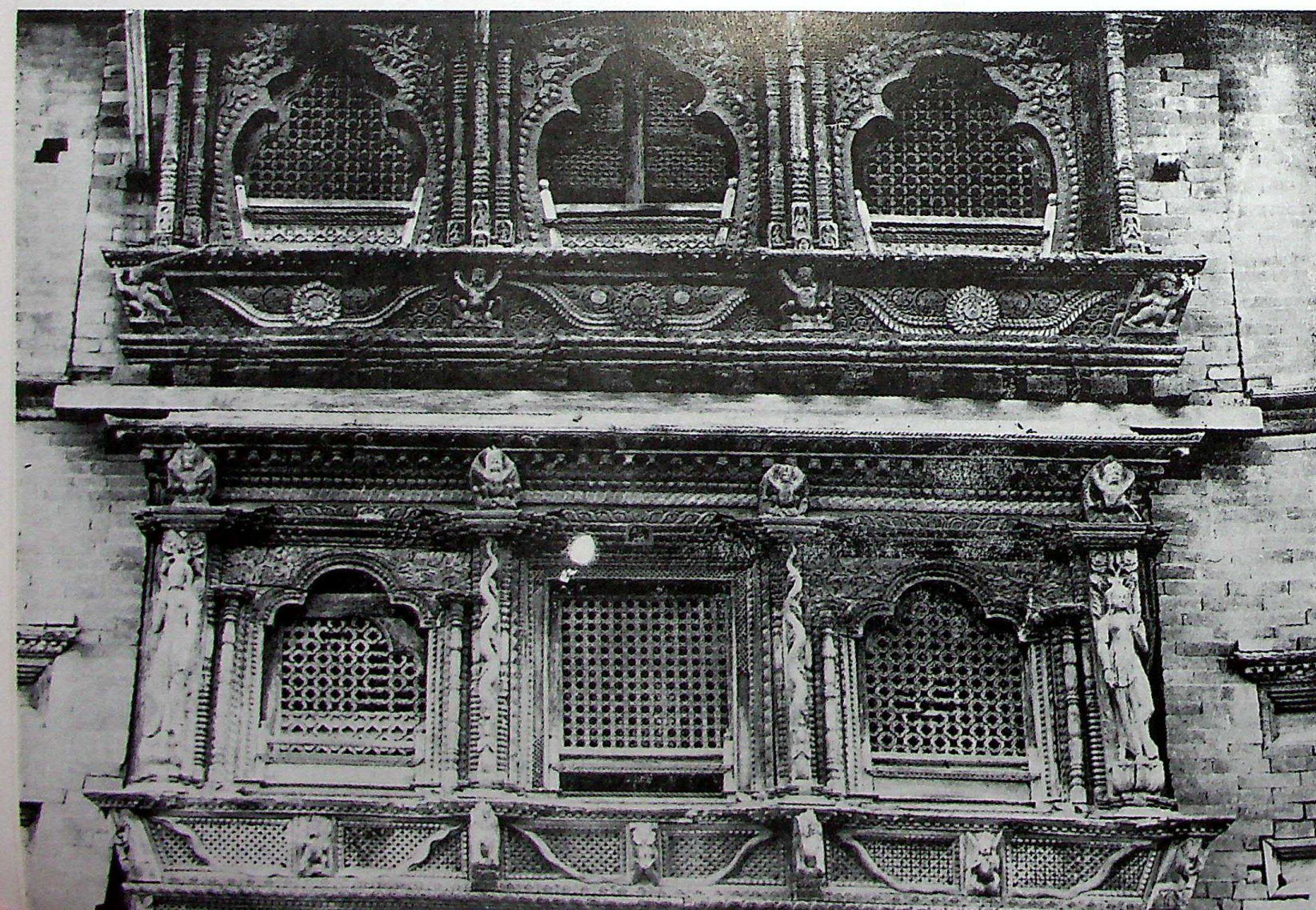
Pl. X. Patan : Dhārā at Sundari Chok (17th century).

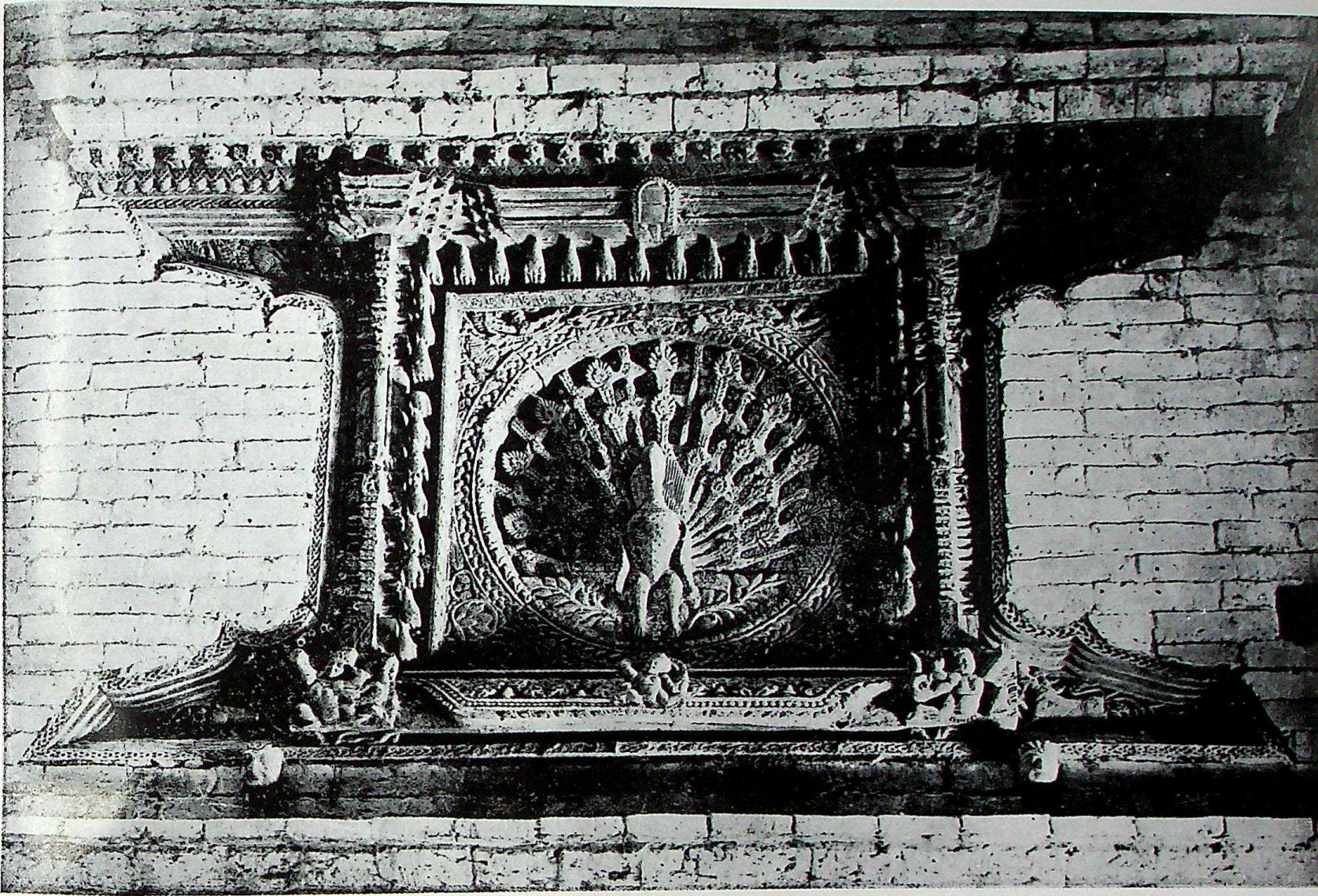


Pl. XI. Window
frame (16th
century).

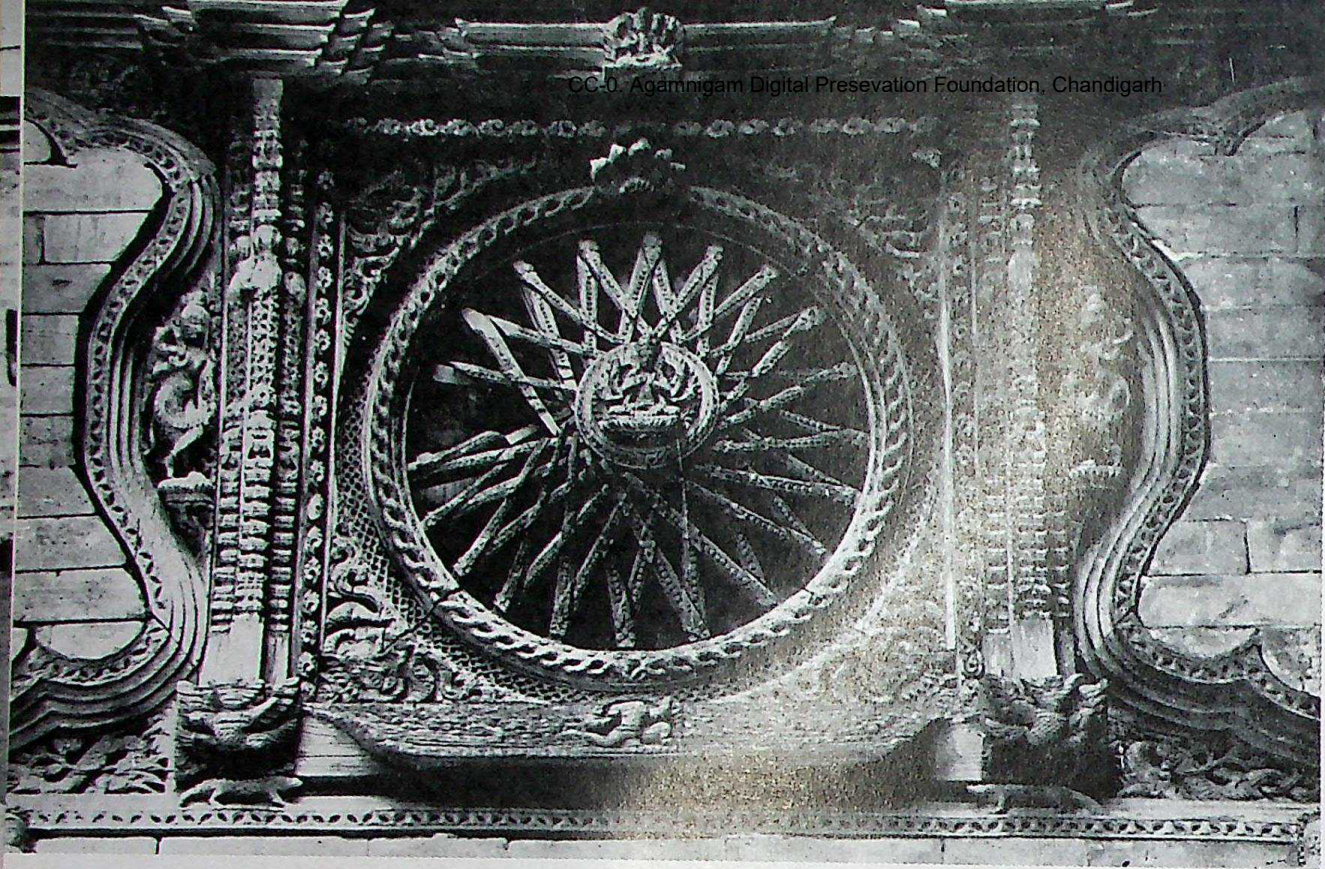


Pl. XII. Deopatan:
Window frame.
(17th century).





Pl. XIII. Bhaktapur : The Peacock window of the Pujari Math (16th century).



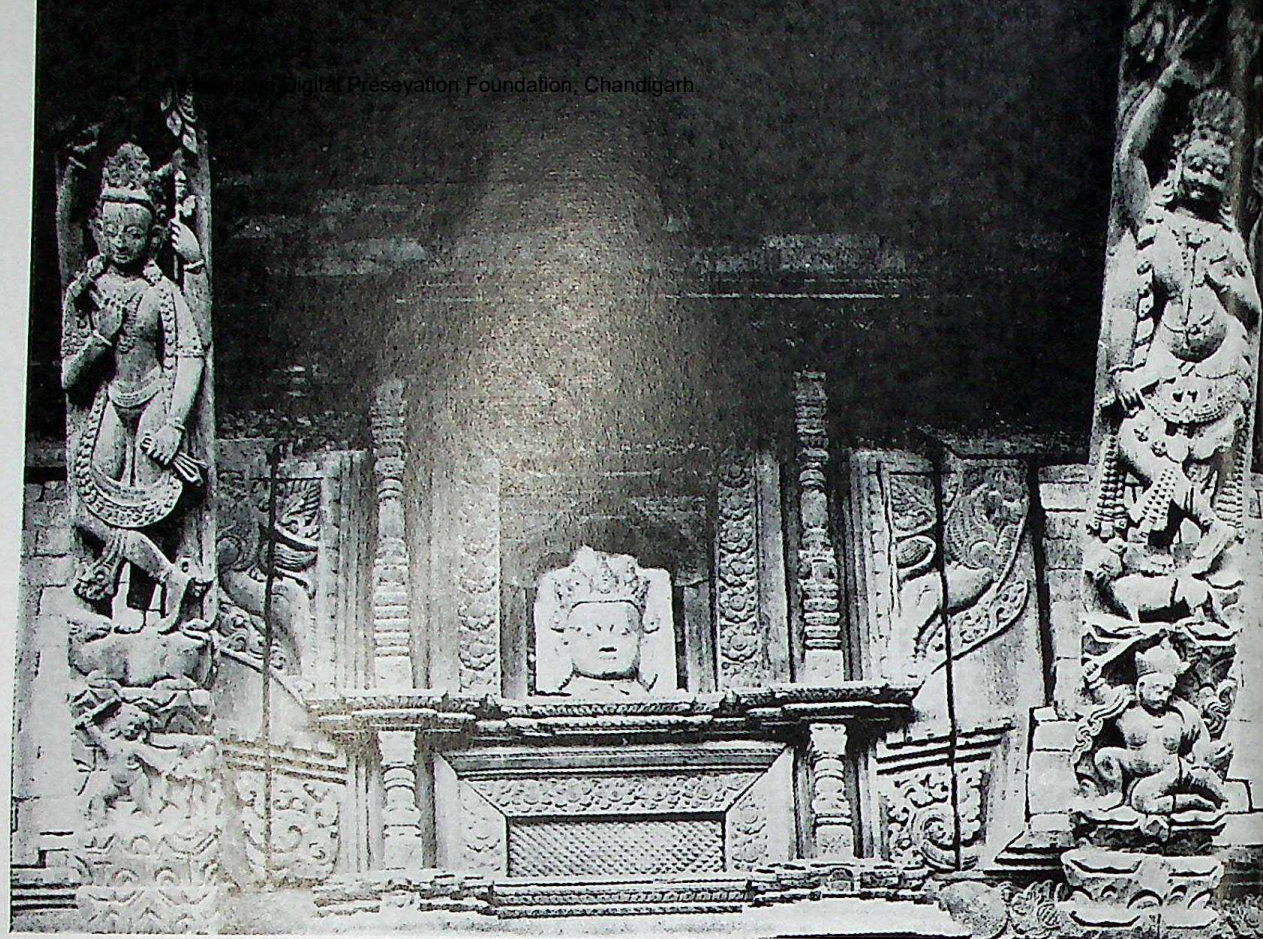
Pl. XIV. Bhaktapuri : The Lotus window of the Pujari Math (16th century).



Pl. XV. Bhaktapur : Details of wooden pillar at the Durga temple.



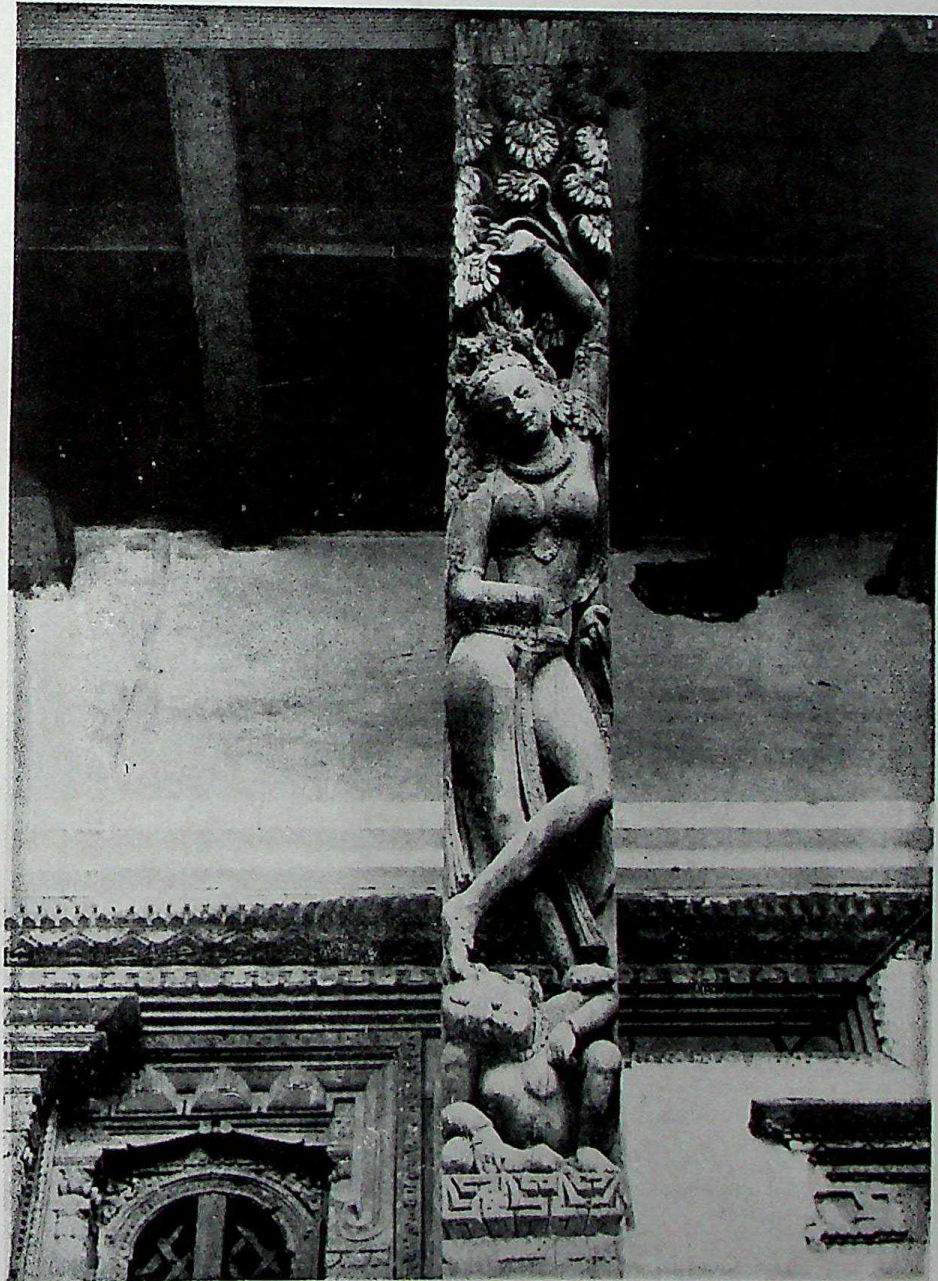
Pl. XVI. Patan : Details of wooden pillar at the Krishna temple (17th century).



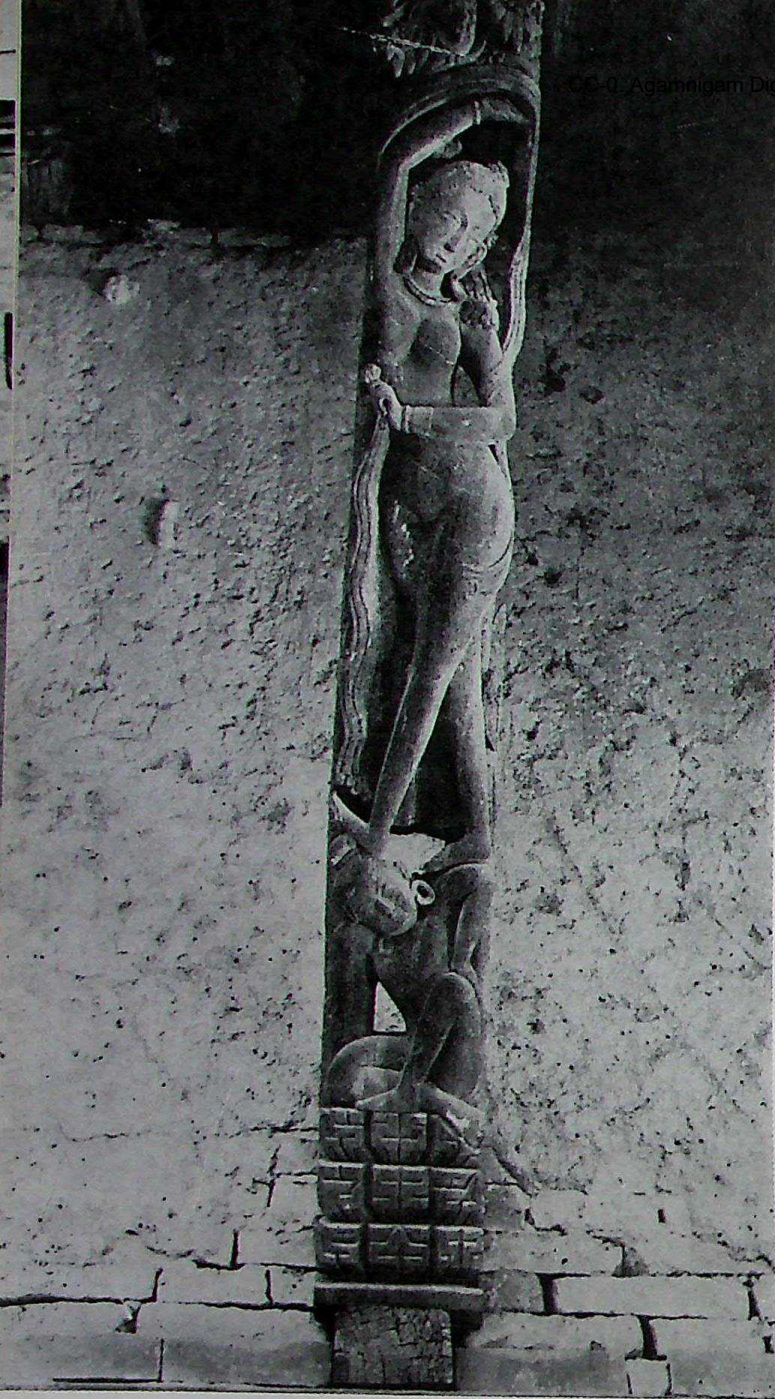
Pl. XVII. Deopatan : Bhuvaneswari temple,
wooden brackets (17th century).



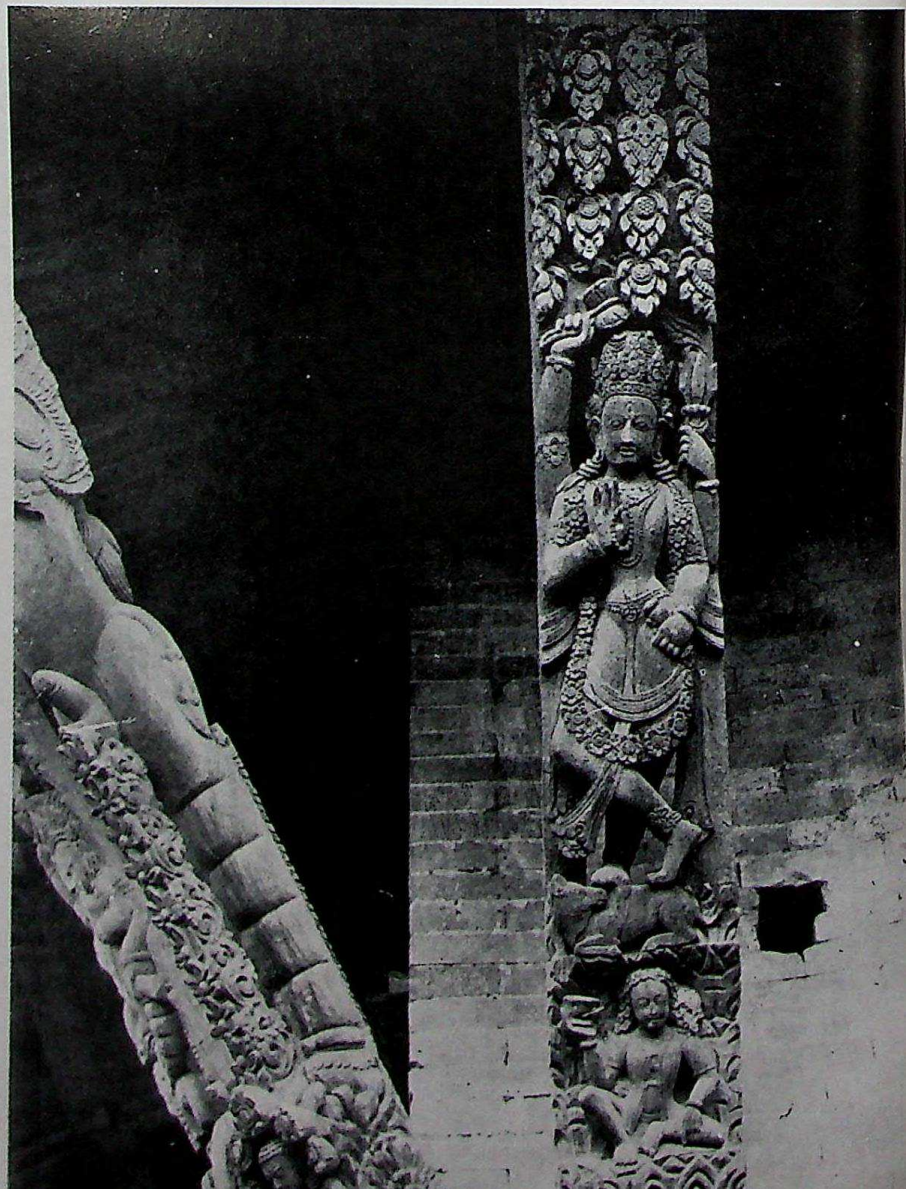
Pl. XVIII. Deopatan : Bhuvaneswari temple,
wooden brackets (17th century).



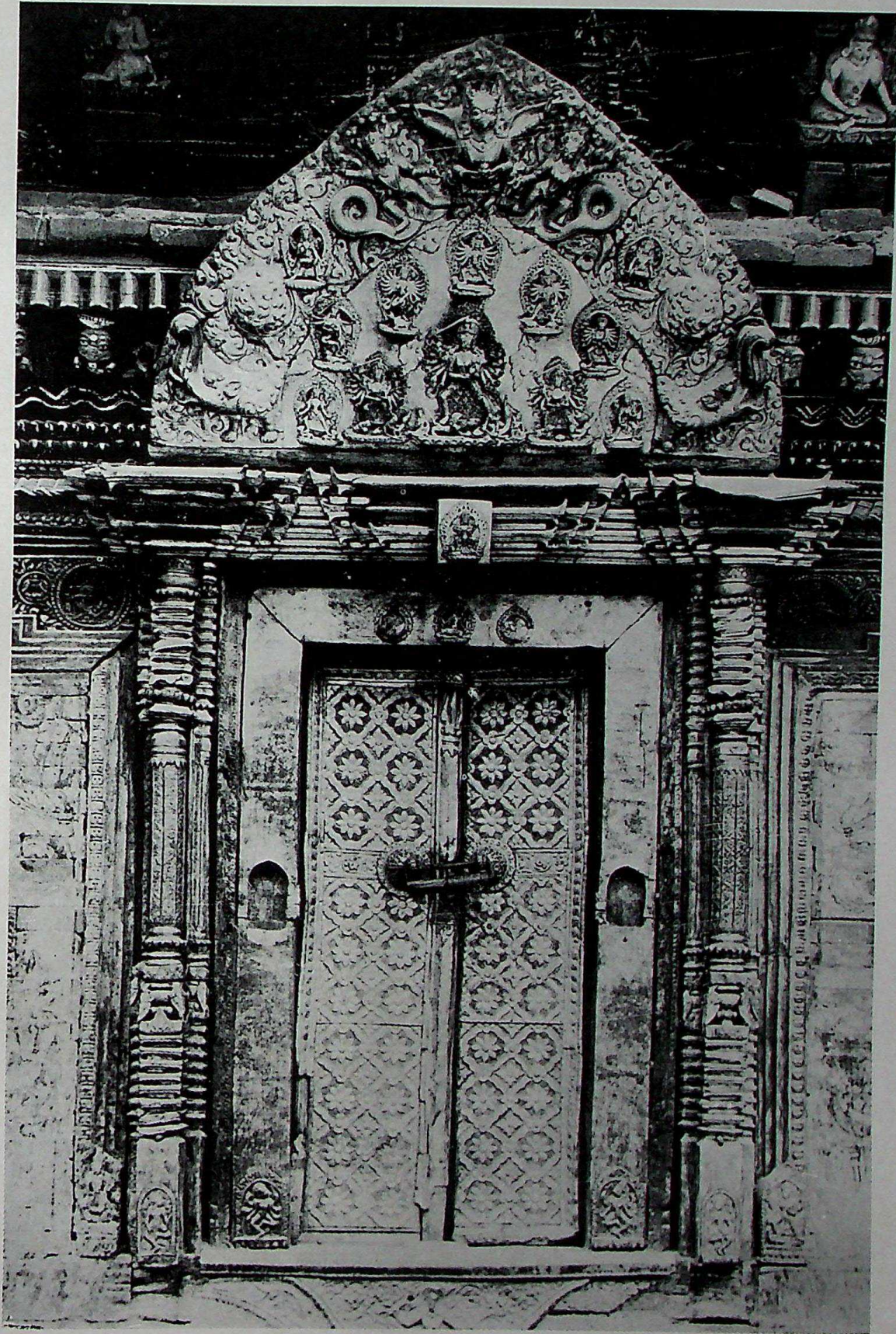
Pl. XIX. Patan : Rudravarna Mahavihara, wooden brackets in the inner quadrangle (17th century).



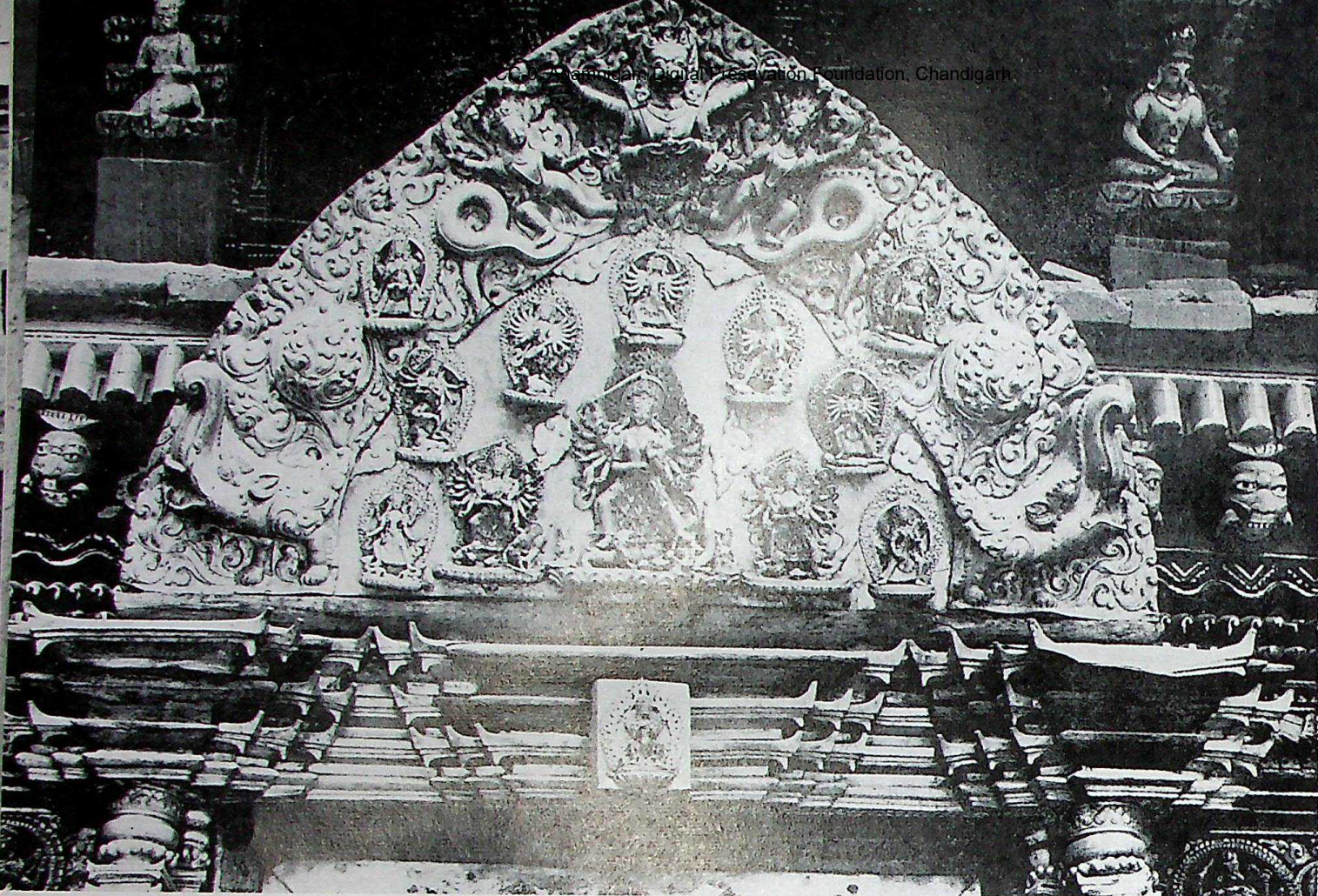
Pl. XX. Patan : Rudravarna Mahavihara wooden brackets against the rear wall (17th century).



Pl. XXI. Deopatan : Bhuvaneswari temple, details of corner and lateral *ṭuṇāls* (17th century).

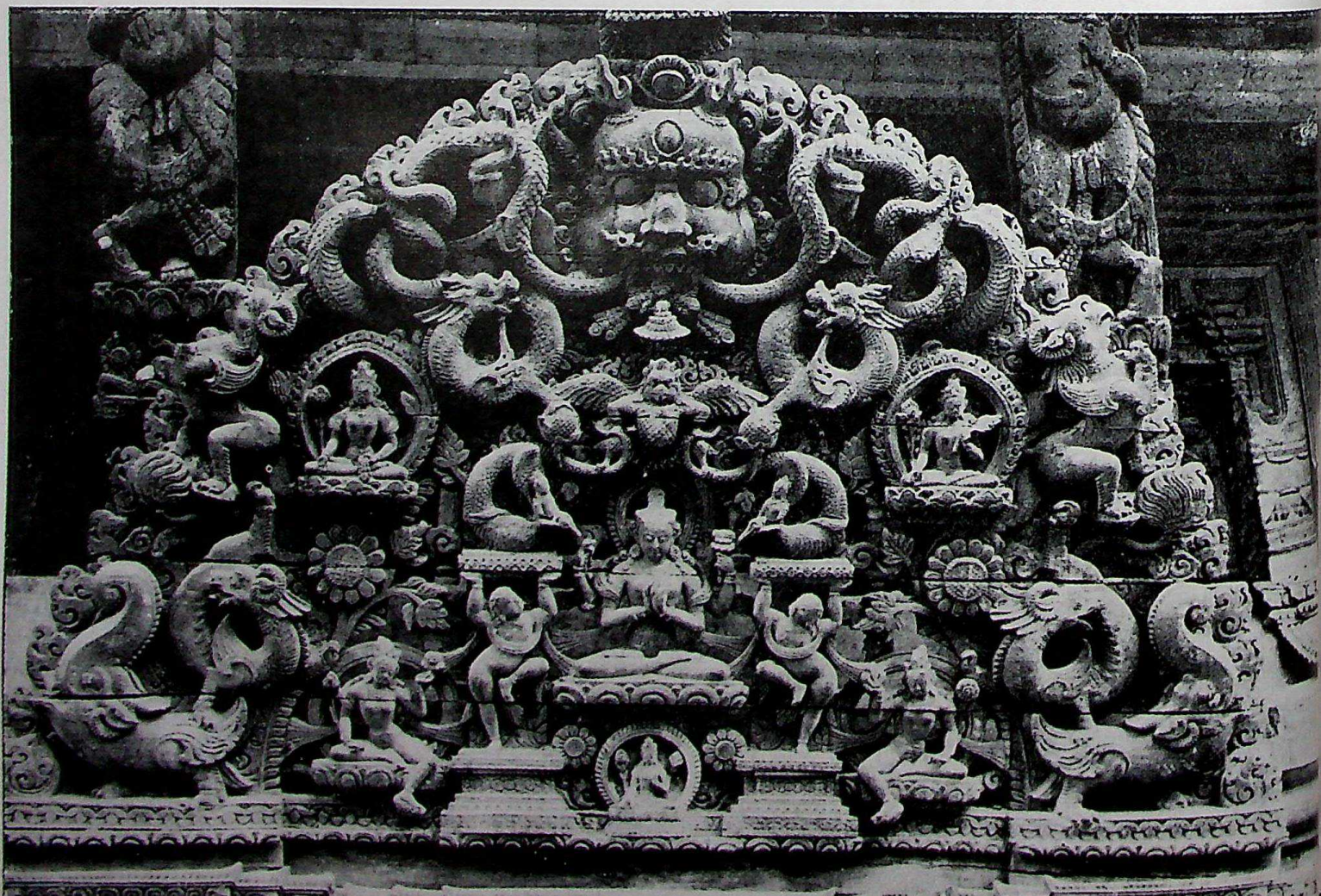


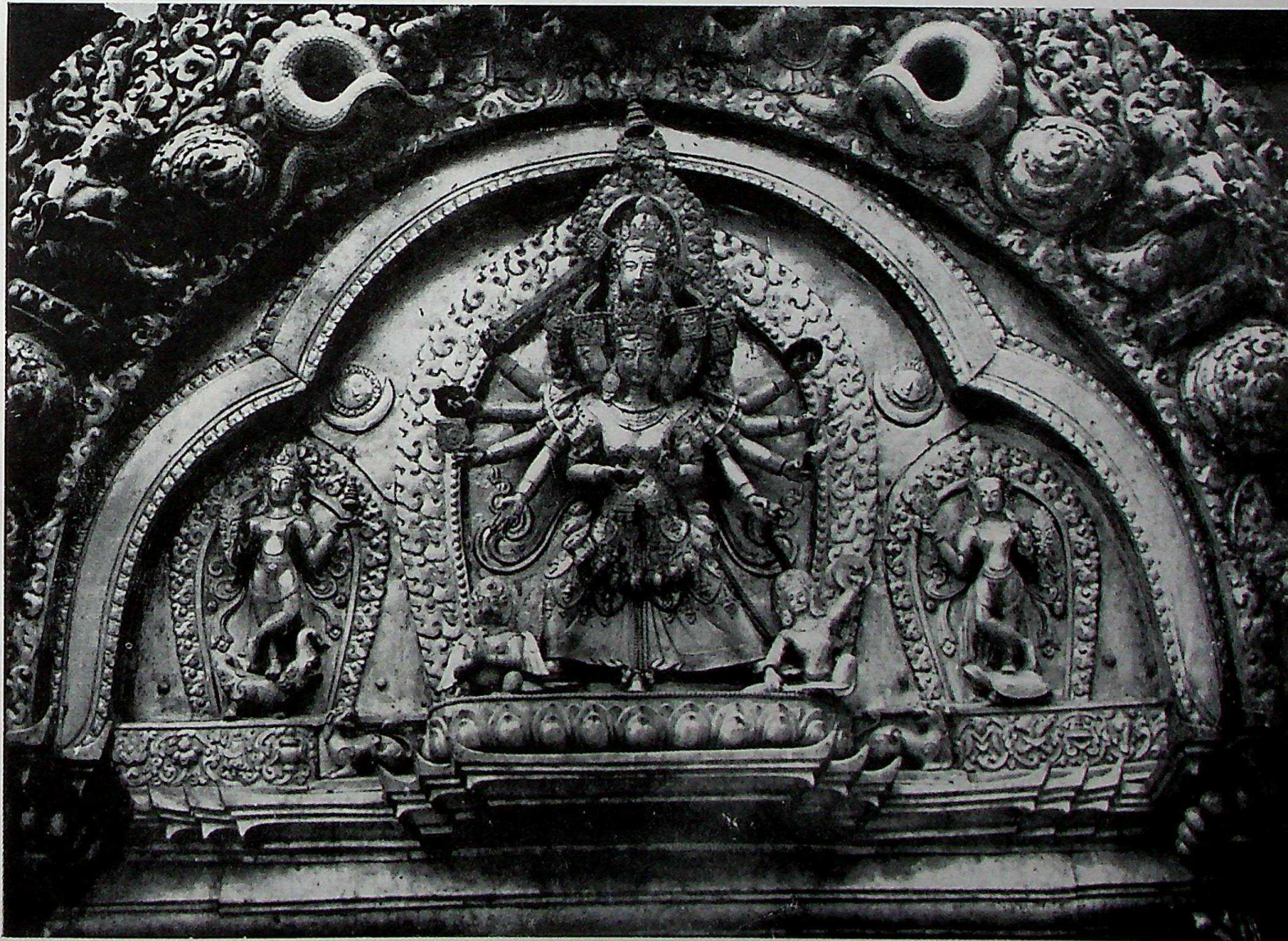
Pl. XXII. Patan : Mulchok showing *torana* over entrance to Bhavani temple (16th century).



Pl. XXIII. Patan : Mulchok, details of *torana* over entrance to Bhavani temple (16th century).

Pl. XXIV. Kathmandu : Wooden *torana* over main entrance to Chhushyavihara (17th century).





Pl. XXV. Bhaktapur : *Torana* over entrance to main shrine of Taleju Bhavani temple (17th century).



Pl. XXVI. Patan : Durbar Square.

Pl. XXVII. Patan : Durbar Square.

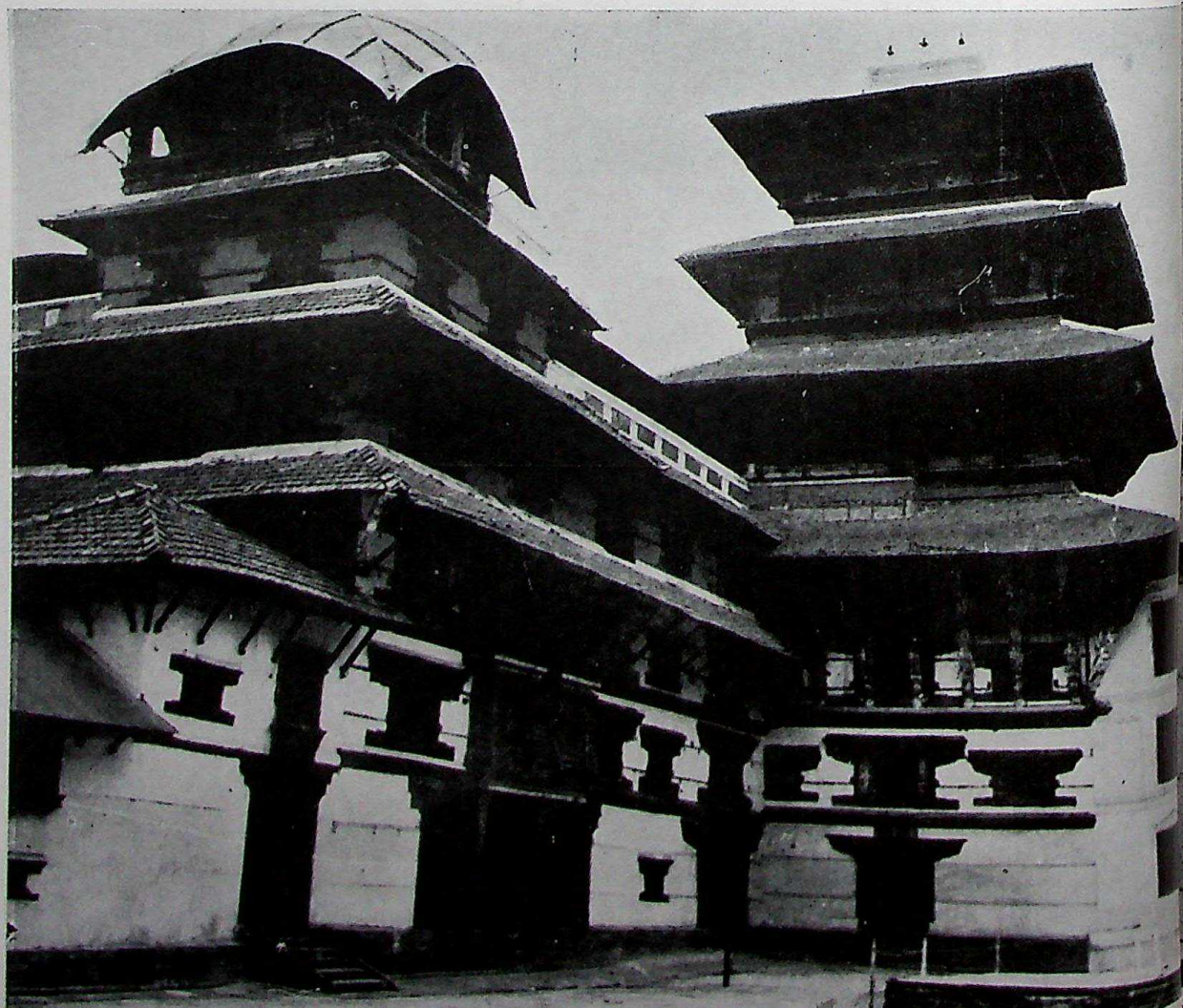




Pl. XXVIII. Kathmandu : Hanuman Dhoka Palace complex (17th century).

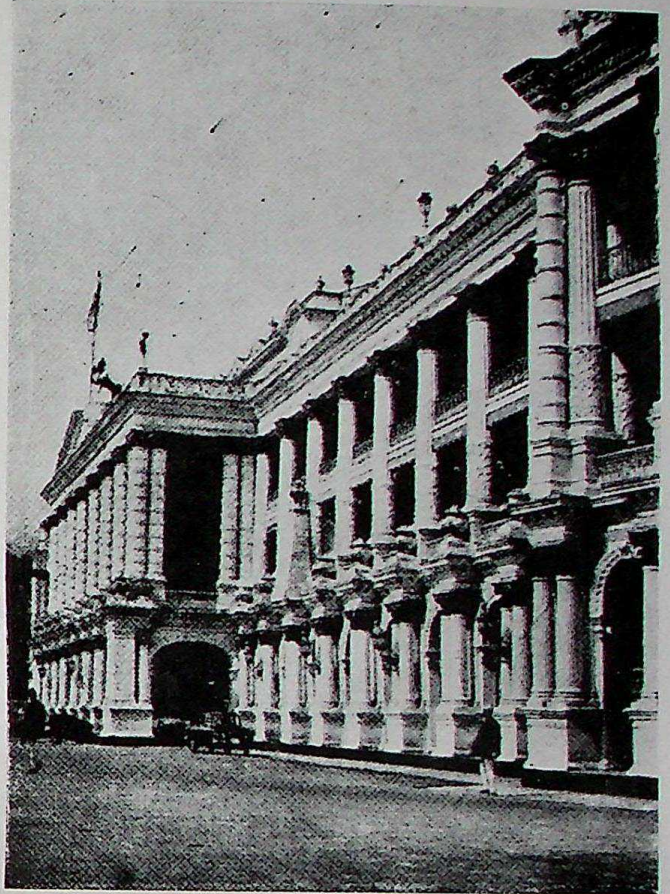


Pl. XXIX. Bhaktapur : Palace with 55 windows (17th century).

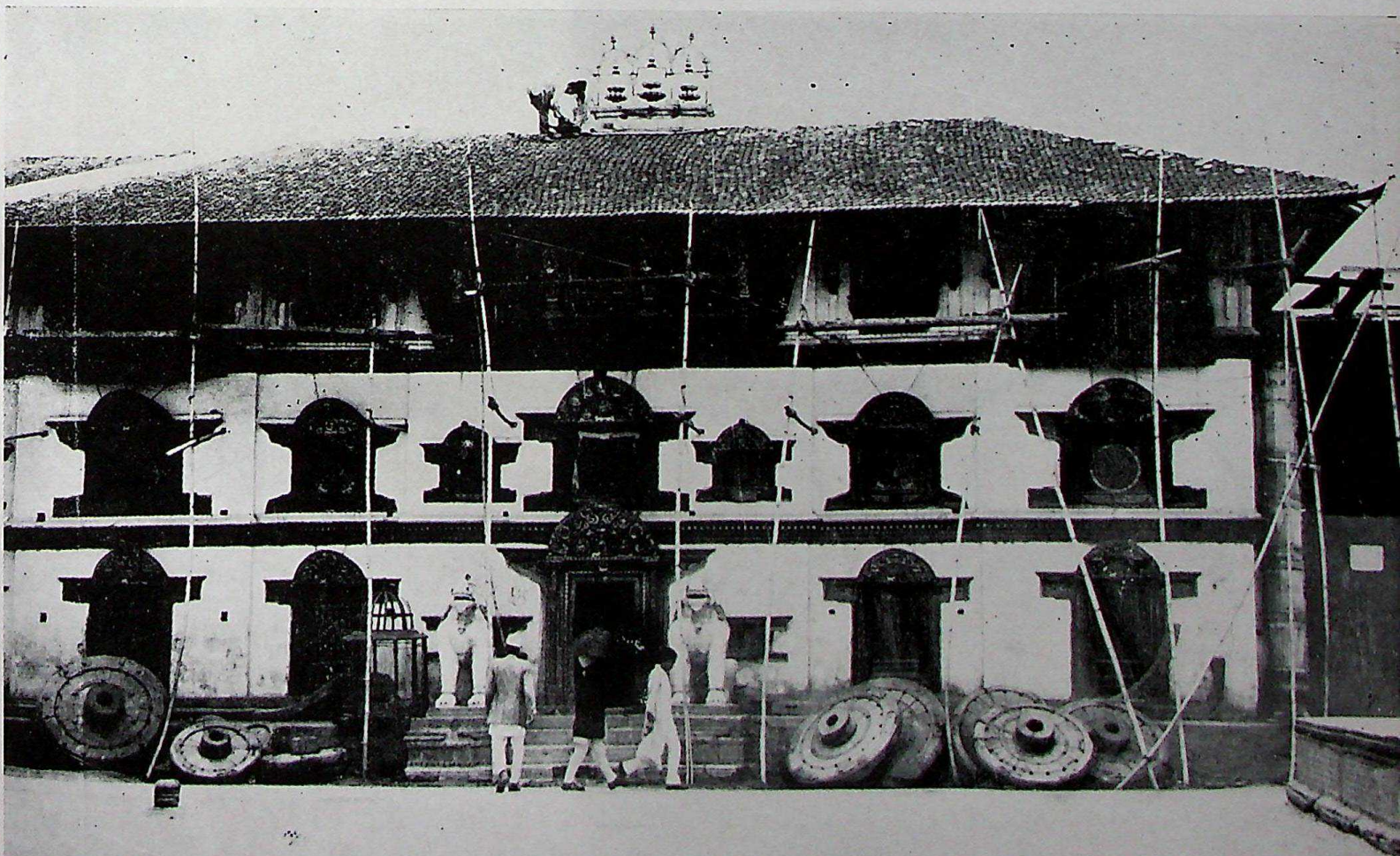


Pl. XXX. Kathmandu : Basantpur Durbar (Palace) (18th century).

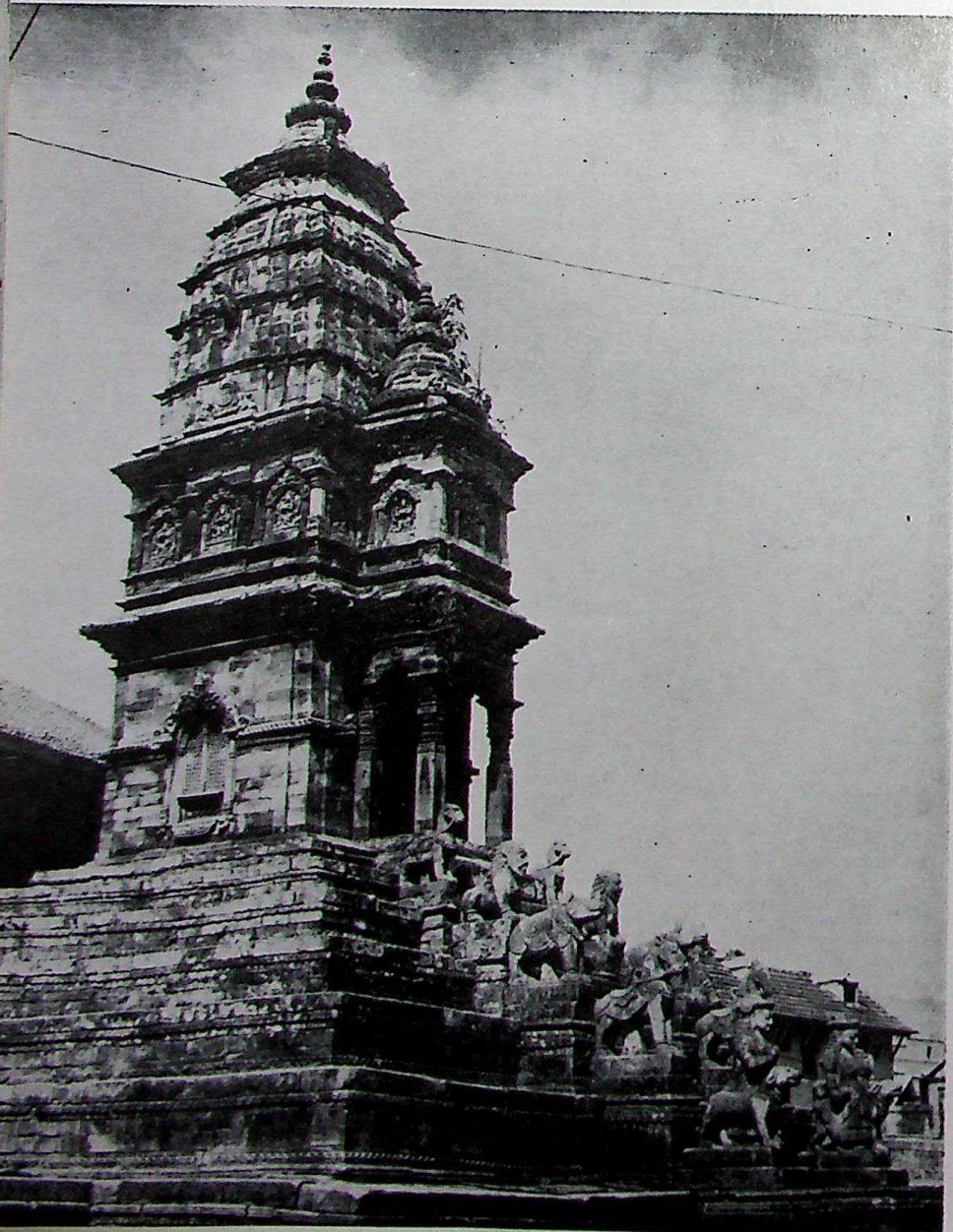
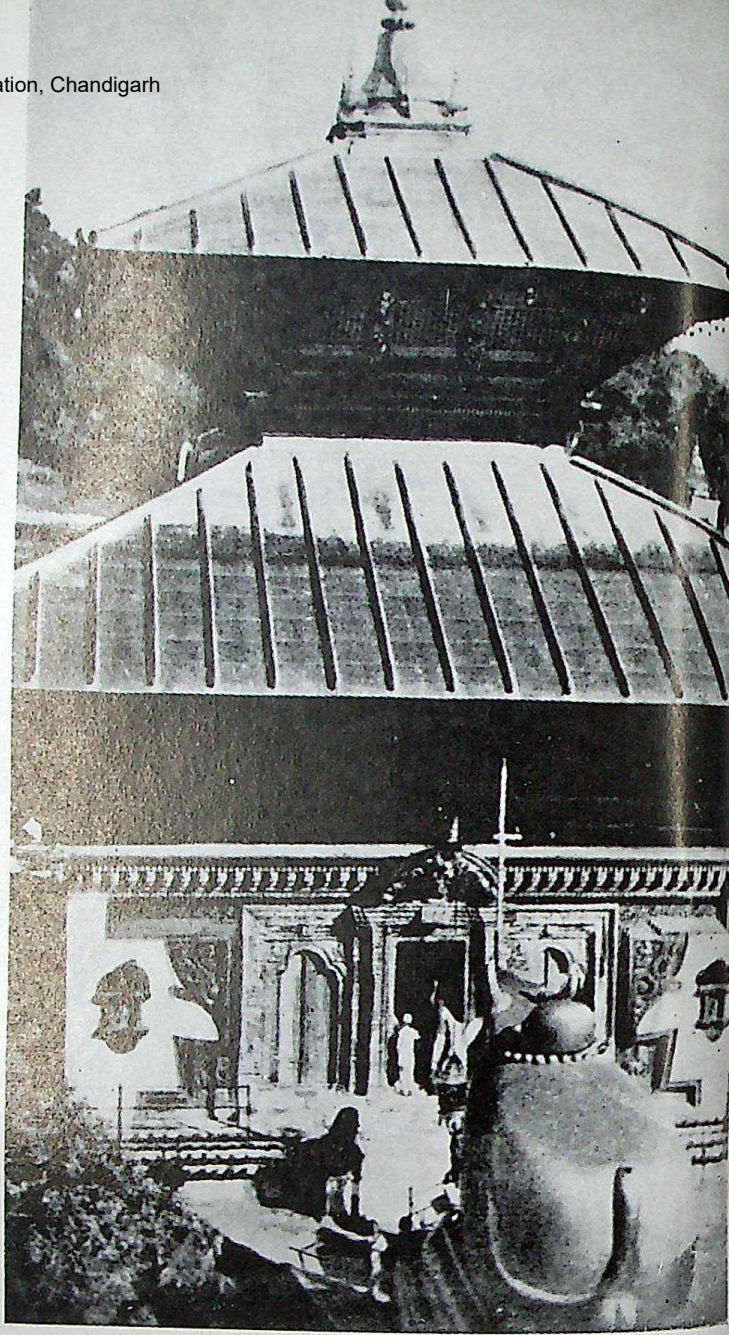
Pl. XXXI. Kathmandu : Singha Durbar (20th century).



Pl. XXXII. Kathmandu : Kumari Ghar (18th century).



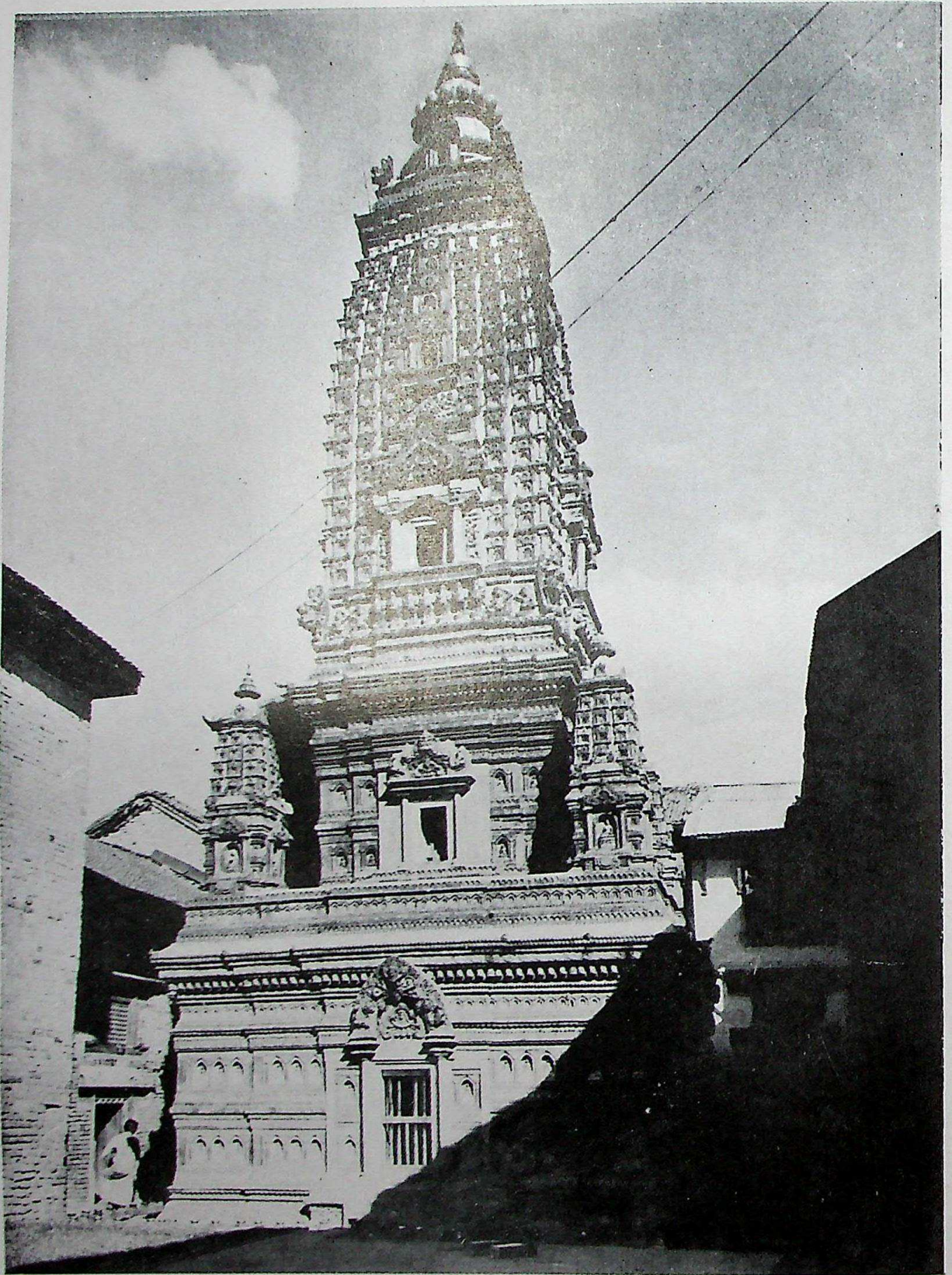
Pl. XXXIII. Deopatan : Paśupati temple (17th century).



Pl. XXXIV. Bhaktapur : Durga temple on multiple plinths.



Pl. XXXV. Patan : Stone-built Krishna temple in the Durbar square (A.D. 1637).



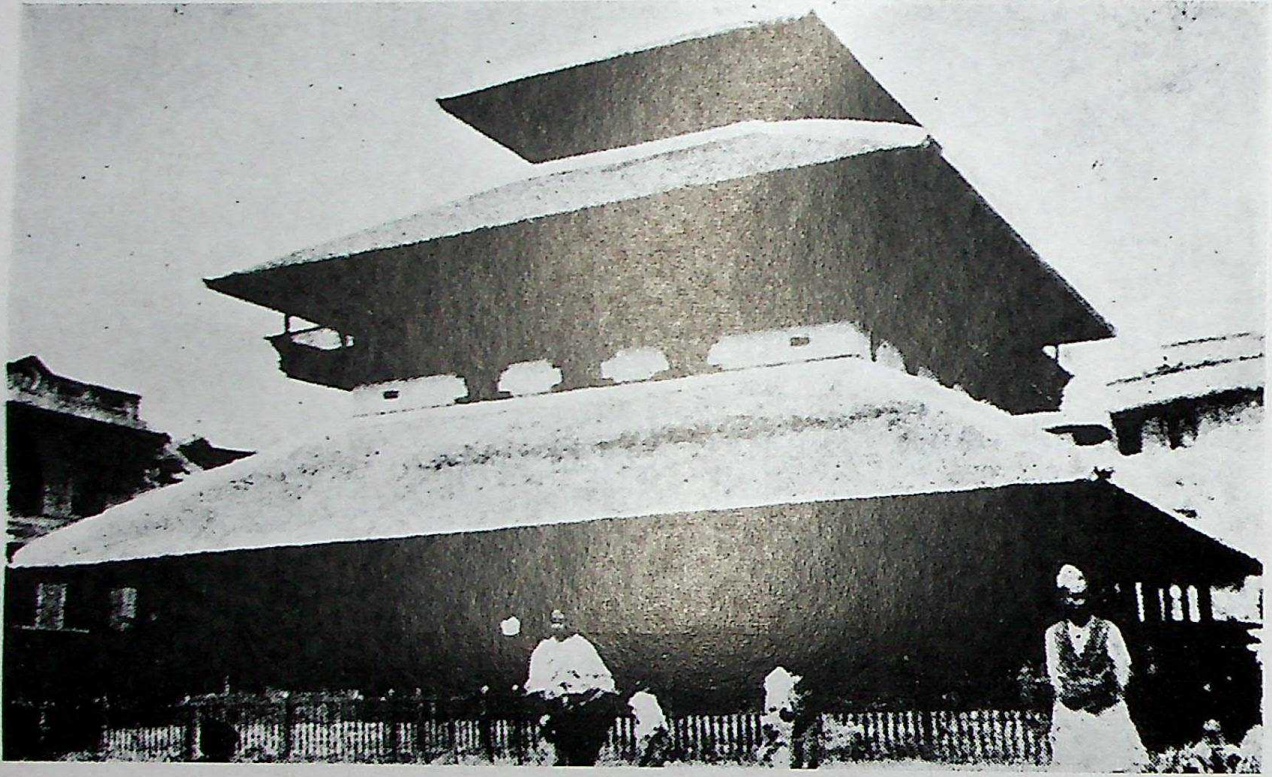
Pl. XXXVI. Patan : Mahabauddha temple (16th century).



Pl. XXXVII. Kathmandu : Panel of *Kumārasambhava* (6th century.)



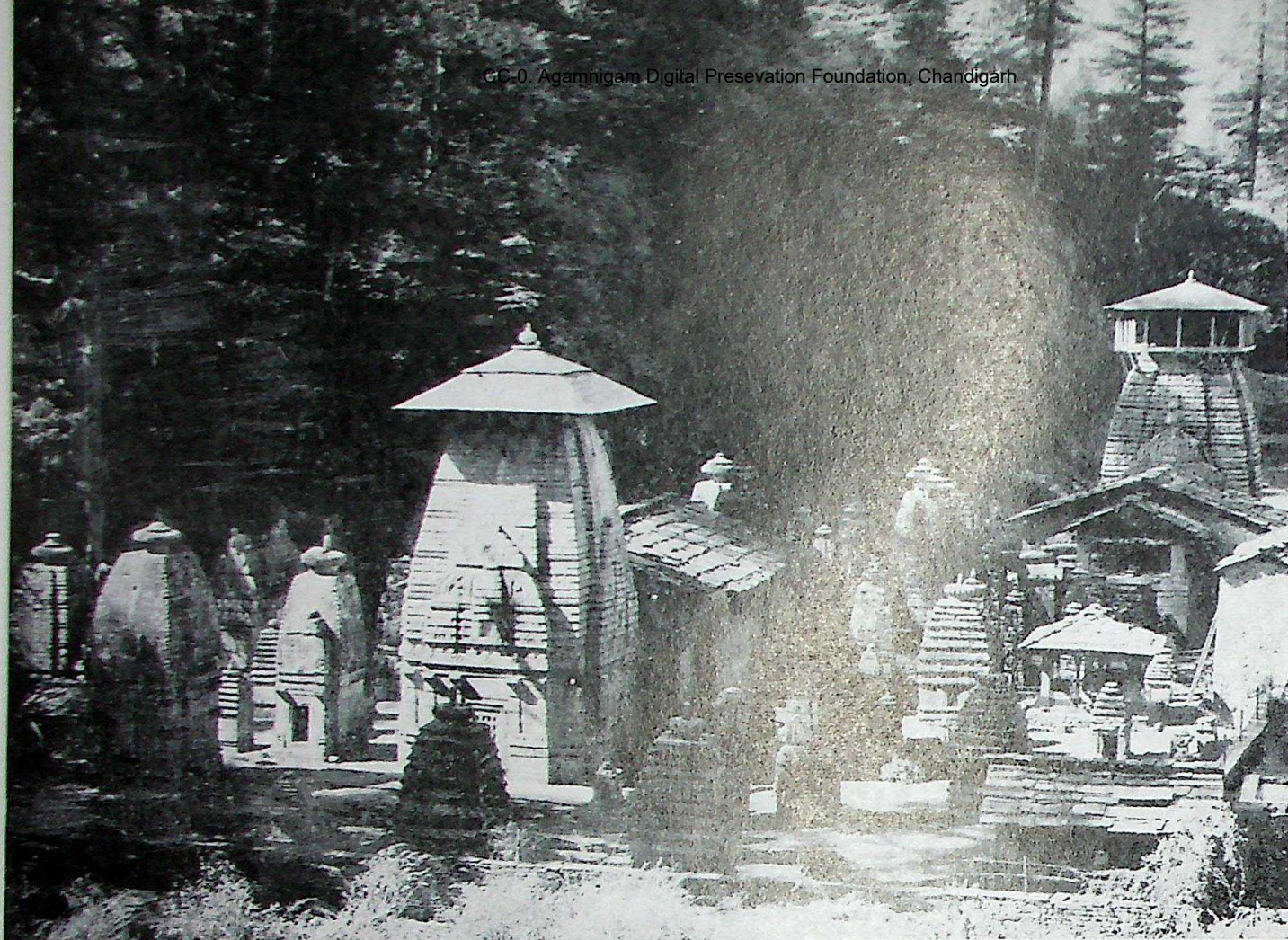
Pl. XXXVIII. Kathmandu : Panel of *Kumārasambhava* (6th century).



Pl. XXXIX. Kathmandu : *Kāshthamaṇḍapa* (16th century).



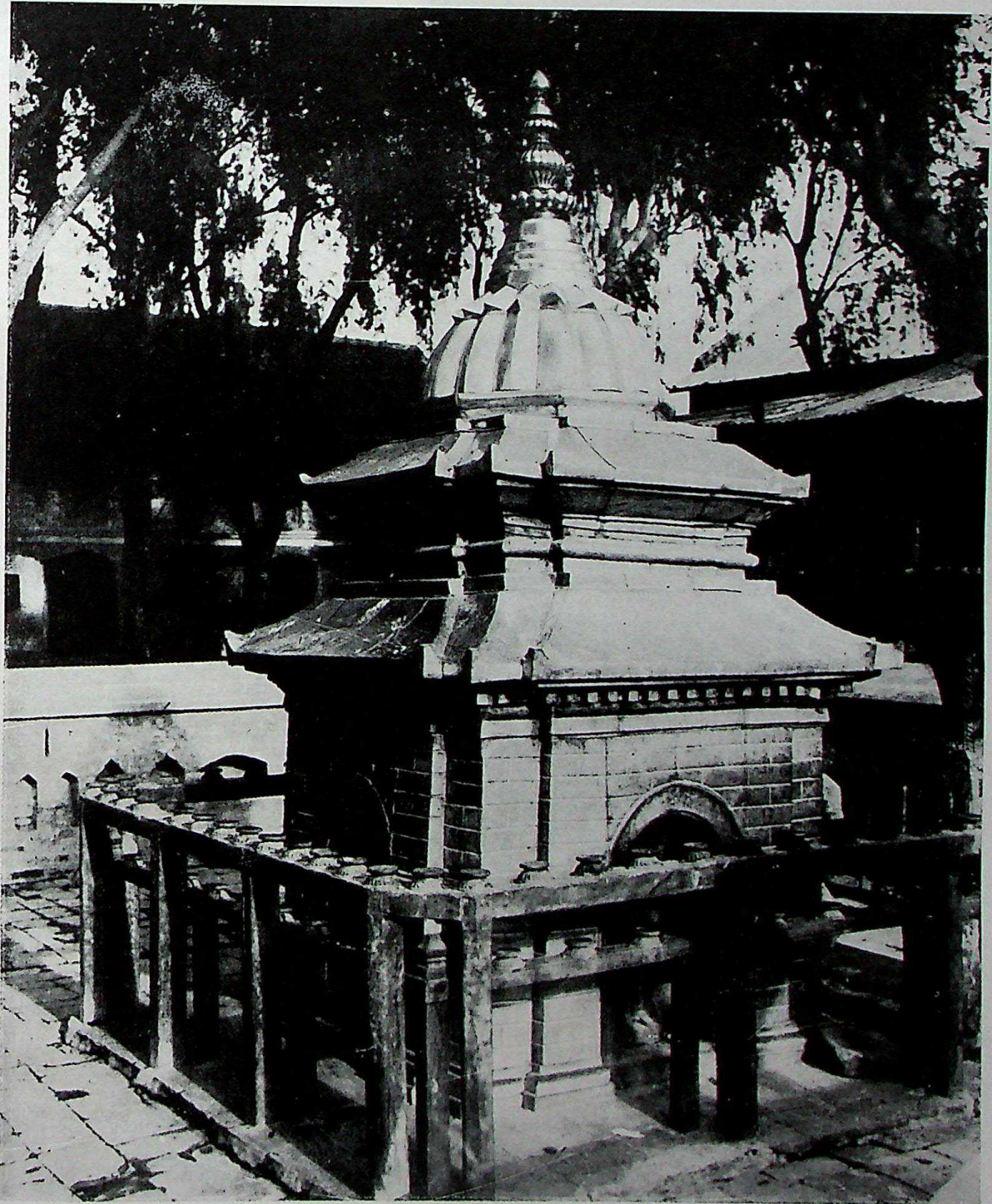
Pl. XL. Bhaktapur : Nyatapola, also called Nyatapau (18th century).



Pl. XLI. Jageswar : temples (9th century).



Pl. XLII. Bhaktapur : Paśupati and Vatsala temples (18th century).



Pl. XLIII. Kathmandu : Ganesa temple at Kamaladi (19th century).



Pl. XLIV. Kathmandu : Siva temple at Hanuman Dhoka (17th century).



Pl. XLV. Panauti : Bhairava temple.



Pl. XLVI. Panauti : Brahmayani temple.



Pl. XLVII. Patan : Matsyendranatha temple (16th century).

be seen in the telescoped window called *deśe-maru-jhyāl* fixed to a house facing the street, not far from the famous Nar Devi Temple in Chhatrapati (Kathmandu).

Apart from the windows, carvings of superb craftsmanship are lavished on the pillars (pls. XV & XVI), lateral pilasters, lintels and beams, or on the brackets called *tuṇāls* (pls. XVII-XX) which support the projecting eaves of the roofs. These lend an arresting charm to the structures that attract the eye and hold the gaze of the viewers upon the sleek elegance of the houses.

The *tuṇāls* (pl. XXI) in the corners are usually in the shape of a roaring lion which stretches itself straight and taut to suggest strength implied by the leonine figure and welfare and prosperity by the normal association of the lion with goddess Bhagavati. It also signifies the strength of righteousness (*dharma*), as of a lion, which can destroy evils.

The living rooms of the houses are invariably small and low-roofed for reasons of practical utility. For the major part of the year the hills and the valleys are quite cold and for the rest they are cool, and it needs all the efforts to keep warm, especially during the nights, almost throughout the year. Small rooms with low roofs are cosier in such a climate than rooms with high walls and they cost much less to keep warm or to heat up. Hence the size of the rooms as well as of the houses is diminutive. Even an additional floor was often planned and inserted in advance below the kitchen floor to account for and accommodate a growing family.

One of the finest components of the rich ensemble of woodworks in Nepal is a distinctively carved *torāṇa* (pls. XXII-XXV) a semi-circular entrance arch with a symmetrical arrangement of figures and decorative patterns carved on it. It is surmounted by a *kīrtimukha*, simulating a *garuḍa* and contains a replica of the enshrined deity, even when embedded in the complex of a residence. These *torāṇas* are usually hoisted over the entrance to a monastery (pl. XXIV) or a palace, or a residence-cum-shrine as well as over the main entrance to the temples (pl. XXV) and *sanctum sanctorum* (pls. XXII & XXIII).

G. PALACES.—From the houses of the common folk to royal or noblemen's palaces was indeed a far cry in size, extent, grandeur or their naturally grave aspects, but, structurally, ancient palaces too are similar in style to the houses of the common folks and the media employed are typically Nepalese.

Palaces are heard of from the oldest days of recorded history. Inscriptions of the Lichchhavi kings from the time of Manadeva to that of Bhimarjunadeva were issued from a palace called the *Mānagriha*. Where that palace was or what its form was, nobody knows. It has, however, been surmised from the inscriptions of the Malla kings of Lalitpur, wherein they have called themselves as *Māniglādhpati*, meaning the lord of Manigla, where the word Manigla probably stands for Mānagriha. In today's parlance the locality in which the Malla palaces in Patan are situated is called Mangal Bazar. At the same time the northernmost palace in the Durbar Square in

Mangal Bazar called the Taleju Chok has a stone inscription of Sivadeva going back to the 6th century A.D. It has, therefore, been inferred that the old palace of *Mānagriha* may have stood somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Durbar Square (pls. XXVI & XXVII) but definite proof is lacking.

Likewise, the next palace built by Sivadeva for Amsuvarman is called the *Kailāsakūṭabhavana* about A.D. 598 (Śaka era 520).¹ It was probably this very palace which was visited by the Chinese Ambassador, Wang-huen-tse, and highly appreciated by him. One significant fact emerges from the Chinese Ambassador's description of the seven storied palace (described as nine storied in the *Vamśāvalis*), the like of which he had not seen before. It establishes the uniqueness of the structure which was obviously multi-storied though it does not necessarily imply the priority of this type of structure over similar structures in China and cannot, therefore, be an evidence by itself for the early emergence of the multiple-roofed temples in Nepal.

From the provenance of a large number of inscriptions and stone sculptures, and several bases of ancient *liṅgas* with their pedestal (*pīṭhikā* or *jalahari*), square or round, of the Lichchhavi period in the Hadigaon and Deopatan areas and the occurrence of the Paśupati temples in Deopatan, it is any body's guess that Deopatan is the crucial area for the remains of the Lichchhavis. It is not unlikely that the remains of the palaces of *Kailāsakūṭa* would be found in the mound known to-day as *Kailāsa* adjoining the Paśupati temple towards the north. The recent discovery of at least six bricks, each measuring $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8'' \times 2''$ ($34.29 \times 20.32 \times 5.08$ cms.) with a uniform inscription, reading *Mahāsāmanta Śryaṁśuvarmaṇaḥ* in the early Lichchhavi script at Hadigaon, near the Satyanarayana temple, in the course of excavating the ruined plinth of a temple of the Malla period, is indicative of the immense potentialities of discovering structural remains of the masses at the times of the Lichchhavis, in this area. A third palace that is mentioned in the inscriptions of the later Lichchhavis is the *Bhadrādhivāsa* beginning from Samvat 95 which works out to *circa* A.D. 675. Like the *will-o'-the-wisp*, traces of the palace like the others have till now eluded the grasp of the archaeologists but it would not be difficult to imagine its form.

It has been shown above that on the decline of the Lichchhavi and Thakuri powers, the Mallas came upon the scene about A.D. 1200. They too must have built palaces of their own. The early palaces of the Mallas have not yet been traced, but the basic form of the Malla palaces can be seen in the palace of Pratapamalla at Hanuman Dhoka in Kathmandu built in the 17th Century, or the complex of palaces at the Durbar Square at Patan (pls. XXVII & XXVIII), built at about the same time, and those of Bhupatindramalla, *viz.*, Malati Chok and the palace of 55 windows in the Durbar Square at Bhaktapur (pl. XXIX).

¹R. Gnoli, *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters*, Rome, 1956, pp. 41-42, Inscription No. XXXI of Sivadeva.

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The palace at Basantapur (Kathmandu) built by Prithvinarayana Shah (pl. XXX) by the side of the old palace of Pratapamalla near Hanuman Dhoka, Kathmandu, in A.D. 1769, is still largely intact and breathes with its predecessor the old-world atmosphere of about 200 years ago.

The old palaces are small by modern standards and follow a uniform pattern of series of structures along the edges of an enclosed quadrangle called a Chok. (Skr. *chatushka*). The palace complexes invariably accommodate temples dedicated to the common family deities, viz., Tulajā or Taleju Bhavānī (Durgā Mahishāsūramardīnī). The temple of Tulajā at Kathmandu (pl. XXVIII) is a three-roofed structure built on a tall platform on a series of five concentric plinths corresponding to a typical pagoda of the Nepalese style of temples.

The old palace of the Shah rulers at Gorkha dates at least from the times of Prithvinarayana Shah. It is modest in size and consists of an inner quadrangle surrounded by the chambers built in three storeys with a ridged roof, pierced by dormer windows and a raised roof over the entrance. It is typically Nepalese in design, layout and form, and in spite of the somewhat larger size and inevitable inner enclosure, it conforms to the style of the common man's houses.

The palace of Prithvinarayana Shah at Nuwakot (18th century) commands uniquely a vantage point on the top of the ridge overlooking the entire valley of Kathmandu. The seven-storied palace rises up vertically containing a flight of steps through the centre of its rear, and is characteristically built and is surmounted by a single roof at the top. It has no inner quadrangle. The palace of Bhupatindramalla (18th century A.D.) at Bhaktapur (pl. XXIX), now housing the Woodworks Museum, is distinguished by its facade of 55 wooden windows with intricate trellis panel exquisitely carved and it thus possesses a unique feature unmatched by anything else in Nepal. The palaces have all a gable ended ridged roof and their entrances are flanked by a lion and lioness and are built of bricks upon or around a basic framework of wood.

A look at the Tilāṅga palace on the narrow lane connecting Asantol and Makhantol in Kathmandu convinces the onlookers that it is much more imposing than ordinary houses and is enriched by carved decorations, windows and figures of soldiers on the facade. A palace belonging to a nobleman, Abhiman Singh Basnyat, was built in 1689 Śaka era (A.D. 1776). Its present condition is none too happy, for its face is clearly leaning outwards, the structure having basically gone out of plumb, and it will ultimately fall, unless something is done in time to prevent the inescapable catastrophe, which is not very far off.

Besides these traditional architectural forms of the royal and noblemen's palaces, there are quite a number of palaces which other noblemen and the Ranas erected in the different parts of the kingdom. One of the palaces or palatial structures of the later phases in the long history of Nepal, is the old arsenal (*silkhānā*) of Bhimsen Thapa, in the cantonment area and now housing the National Museum. This building is very

much rooted in the soil. But the palaces built by the Ranas have a different character altogether in size and in material. They represent a transplantation of structural types from far beyond the bounds of the land, and are often the costliest that money could buy and taste could choose.

The largest palace is of course the Singha Durbar¹ (pl. XXXI) built early in the 20th century by His late Highness Sir Chandra Shamsheer Jung Bahadur Rana, then Prime Minister of Nepal. Its facade compares with some of the late mediaeval palaces of Europe. No pains were spared to make it as imposing and grandiose as possible. But in spite of its grandeur and size, it cannot be held as a characteristic product of the soil. The use of pillars, decorative features and forms of doors and windows are based on exotic prototypes.

The high compound walls that had for long kept such palaces concealed from the view of men and women in general and kept them in glorious isolation in the past, are being pulled apart in the course of the widening of roads and rounding of street corners, bringing out in all clarity the alien nature of the architectural styles of these palaces. They are also not all homogenous in character, nor are they or their fittings and equipments representative of the general pattern of the living of the masses. They are of course gaunt and massive. For the purpose of the consideration of the typical architectural styles of Nepal, these structures can be safely discounted, despite their expensively ambitious magnificence.

H. MONASTERIES.—The number of palaces is naturally small and their variety consequently limited in scope and extent. Not so is the case of monasteries called *bahīs* or *bahāls* (derived from the Sanskrit word *vihāra*) which number several hundreds and form the centres of Buddhist worship and veneration. Their basic form is invariably uniform, being composed of cloisters on all four sides of a quadrangle. A typical monastery such as the Chhushya Vihāra in Kathmandu, situated behind the American Embassy on Kanti Path, is pierced by an entrance on the north. The entrance door is surmounted by a semi-circular *torāṇa* (tympanum) (pl. XXIV) of exquisitely carved wood. It is crowned by the figure of a *garuḍa*-shaped *kīrtimukha*, holding in each of its claws and between its teeth a snake that flanks the curves of a *torāṇa* on either side. The lower ends of the *torāṇa* are formed of *makara* heads, one at each end. The interspaces are filled with symbols of the sky with rolling curves representing the clouds and with raised circular orbs of the sun and moon, respectively, flanking each side. The central space is filled with representations of the deity enshrined in the monastery. The doorway is flanked by the usual lion and lioness, respectively, and gives access to an open space which is a little wider than the span of the doorway. There is a correspondingly free and open space in the cloister on either side of the quadrangle to accommodate the pilgrims and devotees on festive occasions. The centre of the rear side houses the deity in question and the spot is indicated by a series of *pūrṇaghaṭas* (pots filled to the brim with holy waters) over the ridge of the gabled

¹It has since been destroyed by fire a few years ago.

roof above the shrine, often surmounted by the typical umbrella-shaped *gajura*. The courtyard enclosed by the cloisters is paved with square-shaped bricks which are all very sturdy and smooth. The courtyard is marked by several *chaityas* or votive *stūpas*. The monasteries are richly decorated with ornately carved woodwork in the form of brackets below the projected eaves under the roof, both on the exterior walls, besides on the windows piercing the walls on the 1st and 2nd floors of the monastery which are used for living by the caretakers of the establishment and the *pūjarīs* (priests) of the deity. The carvings of figures cover a miscellany of figures representing the constellation and planets and musical instruments being played upon by the devotees in the interior and figures of Bhairava of *tantric* form on the exterior. The external brackets on all sides except the north have now been replaced by plain brackets, the older decoration and didactic woodwork panels serving as brackets being missing. The Chhushya Vihara is typical of the Buddhist monasteries in the Kathmandu valley. Mention may be made in this connexion of the other well known *viḥāras* in Patan, *viz.*, Hiranyavarna Mahavihara and Rudravarna Mahavihara. The latter has retained as yet five of the original brackets (pl. XIX) on the inner side and six on the rear (western) side (pl. XX). These six represent perhaps the most beautiful bracket figures that are preserved intact in Nepal. All these represent structural forms of the 16th-17th centuries.

Even some Bramanical establishments like the temple enclosures inside the palaces such as the Kumārī Ghar (pl. XXXII) or the abode of the living virgin goddess at Hanuman Dhoka (Kathmandu) follow the pattern of the Buddhist monasteries described above. It was built, as already stated earlier, by the last Malla king of Kathmandu, namely, Jaya Prakasamalla, about 1765, *i.e.*, more than 200 years ago.

I. TEMPLES.—By far the most numerous edifices, next only to the residential houses in number, are of course the temples of gods and goddesses of different denominations. One of the earliest temples recorded in history, going back to at least the 6th century A.D., is the temple of Paśupati (pl. XXXIII), though the present temple, except for some later innovations, would date from A.D. 1696 when it was restored fully after the woodwork of the temple had been eaten away by white ants. Earlier the temple had been defiled by Shamsuddin Ilyas of Bengal in 1349 but it (at least the *liṅga* of Paśupati) was restored in 1360.

The ensemble of temple architecture encompasses the *śikhara* shrines of the style largely prevalent in northern India, though their number is rather small, and far more numerous are the temples built upon a single or several concentrically arranged tiers of plinths. Though built of bricks around and upon a wooden framework (pl. XXXIV), variants of the *śikhara* shrine built of stone, namely, the Krishna temple at Patan (pl. XXXV) or bricks, namely, the Mahābhauddha temple at Patan (pl. XXXVI) with a single or multiple plinths, as in the case of multiple-roofed temples, also exist side by side.

In the stone-built temples, the earliest example of the *śikhara* style is represented by the remains of pillars and veneer slabs, bearing *bas relief* sculptural representations

of narrative scenes from the *Kumārasambhavam* (pls. XXXVII & XXXVIII) found in Naghaltol near the Kathesimbu *chaitya* and at the Kankeswari temple at Kathmandu. A good example of the same style, datable to the 10th-11th centuries, stands in comparative isolation in the courtyard of the Paśupati temple a little to the left of the western gateway and is apparently dedicated to Śiva or Brahmā.

One of the earliest extant examples of the multiple roofed style commonly called the pagoda style is undoubtedly the temple well known to all as the *Kāshṭhamandapa* (pl. XXXIX) which has imparted its name to the capital of the kingdom of Nepal. The temple can be traced back to the 10th century A.D., though it has passed through many vicissitudes of fortune and has been repaired and renovated a number of times through its long life and even as recently as 1966 when it was largely reconstructed. But the best and most imposing example of this style is the Nyatapola or Nyatapau (pl. XL) or the five-roofed temple raised on a series of five concentric plinths towering conspicuously above the rows of houses and shrines around at Bhaktapur, not very far away from the Durbar Square. It was built by king Bhupatindramalla of Bhaktapur towards the beginning of the 18th century (A.D. 1703).

The sloping and broadbased roofs of the temples arose out of the necessity to ward off the rain waters and the outlines of the roofs found an example and prototype in the pleasingly sloping lines of the hills and mountains which formed their backdrop. Anciently, it was possible that the valley of Kathmandu may have experienced some snowfall now and then and the sloping roof was also necessary to throw off the mass of ice that may have accumulated on the roof. The multiple roofs arose in response to the requirements of proportion following the evolution of the use of multiple plinths at the base. It is likely that the multiple plinths were a sequel to the *edūka* style¹ of structures that were prevalent in the early days and was noticed markedly in the *chaityas* and *stūpas* in northern India as well as in Nepal. The multiple roofs had also practical utility. For one thing, it raised the height of the structure and gave an imposing appearance to compare with the mountain Meru with which it was a common practice to compare the temples as abodes of gods. At the same time, the absence of the damp-proof course in the inherent architecture of Nepal made the subsoil moisture to rise up along the walls by capillary action. The height achieved by the strategem of multiple roofs must have formed a natural corollary of the multiple plinths. This explains the emergence and predominance of the multiple plinths. This also explains the emergence and predominance of the multiple-roofed style which is otherwise also called the pagoda style.

Though the multiple-roofed style was more prevalent in the Kathmandu valley, it coexisted with the *śikhara* style. Elsewhere too, namely, in the area of Dullu and Dailekh in western Nepal, several examples of stone temples built in the *śikhara* style have been found and these are easily reminiscent of the group of temples at Dwarhat and Baijnath in district Almora in U.P. (India).

¹Dealt with in detail below in chapter VII.

It remains a moot question as to where this style of multiple-roofed temples evolved or how it spread, if at all it spread from a single source. There is evidence of the use of this form of architecture in China (figs. 2 & 3) as early as the 3rd century A.D. No temples of this date, or even slightly later, from Nepal in the multiple-roofed style can be adduced. The palace of Amsuvarman, presumably the *Kailāsakūṭabhavana*, observed by the Chinese Ambassador was seven-storied and it is not apparent if it had seven-concentrically superimposed roofs as well. Meanwhile, the evidence of mediaeval temples in this style are adduced from regions as far apart as Kerala, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh and Kashmir in India as well, apart from the large evidence of Nepal. It is perhaps correct to infer that the original temple of Paśupati at Kathmandu on the bank of Bagmati was built in this style before its structure was defiled by Shamsuddin Ilyas in A.D. 1349. There is no evidence of its being rebuilt though the image was remade in 1360 and since the temple was eaten away by white ants requiring its reconstruction in 1696, it can be inferred that the basic framework of the structure was of wood which alone could have been destroyed by white ants. The rebuilt temple must have inferably followed the plan of the original, out of respect for the sanctity of the older temple and its form. Therefore, even in its present form, the Paśupati temple would constitute one of the earliest extant instances of the multiple-roofed style of temples in Nepal. The position regarding the origin of this style and its propagation remains unresolved, in spite of fervent claims from all directions.

3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Nepal has preserved an expansive variety of architectural styles, all linked by a similiarity of constructional pattern and materials, and all integrated into a homogeneous complex by their weaknesses, but perhaps their strength far outweighs their weakness and this factor is the strongest recommendation to their preservation.

CHAPTER VI

MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE OF NEPAL

1. INTRODUCTION

The traditional architectural ensemble in the central Kathmandu Valley of Nepal comprises : (a) the stone-built and enclosed water conduit (*pranālikā*, *jalaldravanikā*) or *dhuṅgedhārā* (stone-built fountain with a spout), (b) the temple with its diverse ramifications of the pyramidal *śikhara* shrine or the sloping and often multiple-roofed temple of the so-called pagoda-style,¹ also called the *devala* temple, besides the (c) monasteries (*vihāras* or *bahāl* or *bahī*), (d) wayside resthouses called *pāṭis* or *powāhs* or anciently, *dharmasālās*, (e) *stūpas* or *chaityas*, (f) tanks or *pokharis*,² (g) palaces, (h) common man's houses, and lastly, (i) the forts.

All these reflect a unified and comprehensive character of their own, which has earned for them the distinctive terminology of Nepalese architecture.³ The common

¹The word pagoda is clearly a misnomer when applied to a temple, for it is derived from the word *dāgaba* applied to Buddhist *stūpas* in Sri Lanka as derived from the word *dhātugarbha*, or the monument containing the essence of the Buddha. The *stūpas* in Burma came to be called *pagodas* which was apparently a phonetic transformation of the word *dāgaba*. In course of time the Chinese tower-like storied temples came to be called *pagodas*. The earliest tower in existence in China is the multiple storied *pagoda* at Sung Shan, Honan, built of bricks and dated to A.D. 523. The multiple-roofed temples of Nepal came to be called by the westerners as of the pagoda-style in view of the adoption of the storied or multiple-roofed motif in the particular variety of temples in Nepal.

D.J. Snellgrove ('Shrines and Temples of Nepal', *Arts Asiatiques*, Vol. IX, p. 102, footnote 1) suggests that the westerners adopted the word from an Indo-Persian word such as '*But-kada* or the Sanskrit word '*Bhagavat*' meaning 'idol temple' of any kind and gradually extended to mean a temple 'with tailored roofs', and that the word was picked up by the Portuguese as a corruption of some Indian term in the 16th century.

²Pokhari, derived from Skr. *pushkarinī*, is a Nepalese word for tanks and they were always excavated along with the observance of established principles, including the erection of a wooden pillar in the centre.

³Snellgrove (*op. cit.*, p. 103) is of the view that the "whole style of architecture may well owe much to India". Hermann Goetz is almost of the same view.

characteristics binding them all is an essential unity of the style in each category of architectural relics and remains, and the use everywhere of common building materials as will be evident from a consideration of the details of each type of monument as well as the still living examples of traditional architecture in modern times.

2. OUTLINES OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF TEMPLES IN NEPAL

(i) *The Śikhara or Nāgara Shrines*

The *śikhara* shrines¹ are much smaller in number than the sloping and multiple-roofed temples. Even so, most of the extant ones date from the mediaeval times. That such a form of temple architecture existed from the earliest days or recorded history in the midland valley of Kathmandu, namely, the 5th century A.D., is beyond dispute. This is evident from the remains of stone pillars and veneer slabs bearing on their exterior *bas relief* panels of *Kumārasambhava* (pls. XXXVII & XXXVIII) described by the author elsewhere.²

There is an inscriptional reference to a style of temples designated as *Lakshmīvat bhavanam*, in the Tilganga pedestal inscription, dated A.D. 464, of *Vishṇuvikrāntamūrti*.³ That this form of the temple structure continued in popularity, even later, is indicated by the presence of several all-stone temples of the *śikhara* style in the premises of the Paśupati temple at Deopatan, dating back, stylistically to the 10th-11th centuries A.D. The best preserved temple in this style is the temple of *Chaturmukha*

¹The words *nāgara* and *śikhara* have been employed inter-changeably hereunder.

²N.R. Banerjee, 'Glimpses of Kumārasambhavam in the Stone Sculptures of Nepal', *Ancient Nepal*, no. 2, pp. 27-34. These carved slabs depict scenes, often synoptically employed, from the pages of mythological lore. The sculptures could not, because of their theme, be employed for worship. Their only place was, therefore, as veneer slabs fixed on the outer walls of temples; and such temples, inferably, were no doubt in the order of *nāgara* or *śikhara* shrines. It is interesting to consider in this context the view of Snellgrove on the emergence of the style in Nepal. He says (*op. cit.*, p. 110) "a distinct type of temple is that built on stone or brick with high tapering roof (*śikhara*)... It seems, however, to be a style which entered Nepal *very late*. Certainly none of these still existent ones of which I have noted the dates are earlier than the 17th century". This is not a correct assessment of the position as will be clear in the following pages.

³R. Gnoli, *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters*, Rome, 1956, p. 6. The relevant part of the inscription reads as follows :

*Rājā Śrī Mānadevaḥ śubhavamāmatih pātradānambavarshī/
Lakshmīvatkārayitvā bhavanamiha śubham sthāpayāmāsa samyak Viṣṇum Vikrāntamūrtim//*

This means that king Mānadava, of noble heart and generous in his gifts to the deserving, installed the image of *Vishṇuvikrāntamūrti* in a temple of the *Lakshmī* style.

The *Śabdakalpadruma* contains a term "*Lakshmīgriha*", which means the residence of goddess Lakshmi, i.e., a *raktotpala* meaning the red lotus. Please also see footnote 1 on page 76.

Śiva in the north-west corner of the temple courtyard.¹ There are several shrines of this order near the Jayavāgīśvarī temple at Deopatan.

The *śikhara* or *nāgara* temples found in the Dullu-Dailekh area in the west-central Nepal come nearest to the *śikhara* style of north India. In fact, they compare very favourably with the style of temples prevalent in Jageswar (pl. XLI), Dwarhat or Baijnath in the Almora district lying immediately to the west of Nepal. Though built of blocks of stone, they are not much embellished with decorative or sculptural carvings for the obvious reasons of the friable and of unsuitable nature of the stone used for sculptural purposes. All these shrines are provided with an *ardhamandapa* surmounted by a *śukanāsa* abutting the entrance door. The temples are mainly square on plan but their exterior is variously recessed to conform to the *ratha* style of architectural plan. There can be no doubt that this particular style found its way into the contiguous region of Nepal from the direction of Almora situated in a comparable terrain as well as from Bengal. It is to be noted, however, that the *śikhara* style temples at Jageswar or elsewhere in the Almora district are provided with protective roofs comparable with the roofs of the Nepalese pagoda or *devāla* style temples as a natural response to the phenomenon of nature which can often be disastrous in its fury. The Jageswar complex has also got a few *pīḍa* type temples with superimposed horizontal courses, suggesting or presaging multiple roofs (pl. LXXXVI).

The most well-known examples of this style of temples in the Kathmandu valley are the all-brick terracotta temple of Mahabauddha² (pl. XXXVI), dated to the 16th century, at Patan, and the Krishna temple (pl. XXXV) at the Durbar Square, Patan, built in A.D. 1637.³

The comparatively plain, though often curvilinear, outline of these shrines, and the general absence of the *bhūmi*- and *konāmalakas* or paucity or absence of sculptural embellishments on the sides and facades, however, distinguish them from the north-Indian shrines.

¹N.R. Banerjee, 'A Note on the Iconography of Umā-Maheśvara in Nepal', *Ancient Nepal*, no. 1, pp.1-33, wherein a reference has been made to this temple, though it was then provisionally identified as a temple of Brahma. The temple having lost its original *śikhara* has been provided lately with a domical one capping it incongruously. The temple has an *ardhamandapa* in front, i.e. on the east with the entrance door flanked by enquisitely carved figures of Ganga and Yamuna, respectively. The centre of the lintel carries the indicative image or *lalāṭabimba* of seated and four-headed Brahma or Paśupati. The walls are embellished with the figures of the *ashṭadīkṣālas* and other appropriate deities.

²D.R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, Part II, p. 892.

³The temple was built in the year 757 of the Nepal Samvat which works out to A.D. 1637. The record is contained in the stone inscription of Jayasiddhinarasimhamalla. In words, the date is mentioned in the 23rd line as follows :

"*Nepālavarshē svaraśaraturagairamkīte*" and again in figures in the 46th line as "*Samvat 757*". See Yogi Naraharinath, *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, part I, pp. 209-10.

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The absence of *ardhamandapas* or other appurtenant *mandapas* or halls is another characteristic feature of the shrines.

The Nepalese shrines are no more than a mere *sanctum sanctorum*, and except for a few, are almost invariably *nirāndhāra* shrines. The Paśupati temples at Kathmandu (pl. XXXIII) and Bhaktapur (pl. XLII), respectively, are indeed shrines of the *sarvato-bhadra* type, with a door pierced through each side offering a view of one of the four faces of the *sarvatobhadra* Paśupati *līṅga*. The Paśupati temple at Kathmandu is exceptionally a *sāndhāra prāsāda*, though the passage enclosed by the built-in circum-ambulatory on the western side is not accessible to any except the ordained priests and temple attendants of approved categories.

The Krishna temple at Patan (pl. XXXV) combines several aspects of the style of architecture adopted in Rajasthan, in the form of pillars, *chhatris* or pavilions as architectural features serving to break and diversify the otherwise monotonous skyline, the running architrave or *koṅguras*, and falsely traceried panels of stone, masquerading as windows in a harmonious combination with the multiple plinths commonly met with in Nepalese temple architecture.

The *śikhara* shrines of Nepal as a rule adopt, out of necessity or from considerations of practical utility, the multiple-tiered plinths (pl. XXXIV) of the Nepalese *devālaya* temples. The primary purpose of the multiple-plinths was, apparently, to dilute or minimise the effects of the seepage and rise of moisture from the soil along the walls by capillary action. The secondary and incidental purpose of this plinths was, of course, to obtain a respectable and proportionate height for the temple intended to be erected upon it. This aspect of the matter must have been brought home to the architects of Nepal by the gigantic heights of the peaks of the mountains which stand mightily in the background.

By far the best example of the stone-built temple of the *śikhara* shrine is the all-stone (*pāshāṇa devālaya* or *aśmavasati*) temple of Krishna (pl. XXXV) built in the Durbar square by Siddhinarasimhamalla in A.D. 1637 as stated above. Like all other temples, including those of the multiple-roofed style, the *śikhara* temples are unitary structures without any adjuncts like the *ardhamandapa* or *mahāmandapa* or *jagmohan* etc., of Indian examples as indicated above.

Nevertheless, a very pleasant balance was obtained between the lower part of the temples and the superstructure, for both appear to be proportionately poised and constitute a harmonious unity.

Towards the end of the Malla period, the *śikhara* shrines adopted a different outline. The pyramidal part in these cases has a concave outline on either side, forming

the shape of an ogee-curved (pl. C) flower bud and described as such (*sarajakalikopama*)¹ in the inscriptions. The exterior of these as well as the other *śikhara* shrines were not usually embellished with carvings, on enriched with appropriate, directional, didactic, narrative, ornamental or sculptural panels as was generally the case in India. They are usually shorter in height than the so-called pagoda shrines, and are, therefore, almost lost sight of amidst the complex of the architectural miscellany of Nepal. Sometimes the serrated outline of multiple plinths is worked out structurally.

It is worthy of notice that the stone-built shrines were often compared to mountains such as the *Meru*, *Mandara*, *Mahendra*, *Vindhya*, *Kailāsa* or the Himalayas² as well as to *Svarṇāñchala* or *Haimāchala*³ as a prototype or representative of the respective mountain on earth. A rich imagery was often conceived of in describing them. The *śikhara*, compared to the *Meru*, was imagined as though it was served by the *Ākāśa Gaṅgā* (*tripathagā*) as the garland. The *kalasa* or pitcher on the finial complex as the moon, the *chhatra* (parasol) as the sun, with the stars in the sky as the flowers strewn over

¹Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 133. The relevant part of the inscription dated N.S. 786, i.e., A.D. 1665 reads as follows :

“Durgāpādāmbhoja-pūjanārtham |
Achikarodgehamimam manojñam saśrīnivāsaschaturāsraśobham ||
Tadgehānganamadhye asau Śrīnivāso nrvāsavaḥ ||
Svarṇaprāsādamakarot sarajakalikopamam ||”

It means that the king Srinivasamalla made this attractive and golden temple, four sided (square or quadrilateral) on plan and which was like the bud of a lotus, for worshipping the lotus feet of goddess Durga. See footnote no. 3 on page 73 ante which supports the identification of the temple type known as *Lakshmīvat* which points to a lotus like shape.

Subsequently, during the rule of the Ranas, i.e., from 1847 onwards the style underwent a complete modification in form, material and outline. The walls were built of brick in lime or clay mortar and plastered with lime and also washed white with lime. The structures were mostly square on ground plan and were surmounted somewhat incongruously by a characteristic dome of the Muslim mosques and tombs, popularized in Hindu architecture by the Rajputs of India. The case of the Kalmochana temple attributed to Jung Bahadur in the middle of the nineteenth century is an inglorious example of the onset of the setback in the religious architecture of Nepal.

²Yogi Naraharinath, *op. cit.*, p. 209. The relevant line of the stone slab inscription of Siddhinarasimhamalla, of the year 757, or A.D. 1637, relating to the stone-built Krishna temple at the Durbar Square of Patan runs as follows :

“Yo Meru-Mandara-Mahendra-Himādri-Vindhya-Kailāsa śailaśikharabhramamātānoti”

³Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 15. The relevant part in the inscription reads as follows :

“Prāsādaḥ khalu Viṣṇuśimhanripateḥ svarṇāñchalam spardhate ||
Śrī Viṣṇuśimhanripa-ratha-niyogasiddheḥ prāsādaratnamīha rājati Śaṅkarasya |
Haimāchalaika-kuchasañjanita prithivyāḥ.....”

It means that the temple (*prāsāda*) dares the *Svarṇāñchala* (golden mountain) in height and grandeur, and appears to be one of the breasts of mother earth, *Haimāchala* being the other. The inscription is engraved on a stone slab “lying close to the main door of the temple of Bhriṅgāreśvara at Sonaguthi”.

the shrines by the gods and goddesses, and the clouds as the garment¹ enveloping them. The shrine was sometimes described as one of the breasts of mother earth, the other one being the *Meru parvata*.²

It is clear to see that the *śikhara* shrines of Nepal, whether built of stone or bricks, had distinctive features of their own, different in many ways from those of their Indian counterparts or prototypes. These features constitute the Nepalese contribution to this style of architecture. The inscriptional and literary records have indicated on the present showing at least three styles prevalent under the category of *śikhara* shrines, viz., *Lakshmīvat bhavanam*, *grantha kūṭa* existing as late as A.D. 1589 and 1711 and *chaturāsraṁ sarojakalikopamam* as late as 1665. One of the texts guiding the construction of temples mentioned as late as A.D. 1568 or N.S. 689 by name is the *Vishnu-dharmottara*, an *Upa-purāṇa*, dated to the 5th-6th centuries A.D. This text does not prescribe the multiple-roofed style. Therefore, the style indicated can only be the *nāgara* style. The other texts mentioned generally are the *Vedas*, *Śrutis*, *Smritis* and *Āgamas*, respectively. The *nāgara* style evolving in Nepal was largely an adoption of the *śikhara* style of north India.

(ii) The Devala Shrines

The multiple-roofed temples described hereunder as *devala* temples on the contrary present a sharp contrast to the *śikhara* shrines. The type of temples is generally confined mainly to the valley of Kathmandu and the immediate vicinity. The serrated outline of the temples silhouetted against the sky is at once a break in the skyline and a pleasant spectacle to boot. The structures in all these cases were built of bricks around and over a wooden framework. In the outline of ground plan these are

¹The Sonaguthi Bhriṅgareśvara stone slab inscription of the year N.S. 674, i.e., A.D. 1553 (Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 15-16) conjures up such a picture of the temple of Śiva there. The relevant lines of the inscription run as follows :

*Gaṅgā mālyati raupyakumbheti śasi bhānu kirīṭāyate
kasturītilaka nyayanjaladhārāstārata tirharati |
Śrāntayatra divākarasya turagāḥ viśrāntimātanvate
pratyama—pram—Malayottarāchala-badhū-pūja prasūnavrite ||*

There is yet another inscription in the possession of the National Museum of Nepal at Kathmandu which conjures up such an imagery for the temple. Please see Regmi, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26. This inscription is dated N.S. 689, i.e., A.D. 1568.

The Narayana temple (Patan), stone slab inscription of the year N.S. 684., A.D. 1563, draws a comparable imagery for the temple.

²Please see reference no. 2 page, p. 76 above. This inscription relates to the Bhriṅgareśvara temple at Sonaguthi as mentioned above.

generally either square or oblong,¹ though occasionally they were circular or octagonal on ground plan as well.

Sometimes there may not be any semblance of plinth at all, the temple wall rising straight from the surface of earth, and the floor of the *sanctum sanctorum* being on a level with or even below the ground level. The plinths which are always concentric on plan may rise to nine (pl. XLIV) or ten in number, but the maximum number of roofs noticed so far is five (pl. XL), though they may vary from one (pl. XLII) to five (pls. XL).

The Paśupati temples (pls. XXXIII & XLII) at Kathmandu and Bhaktapur have two roofs each while the Nyata Pau (A.D. 1703) at Bhaktapur (pl. XL) and the Kumbheśvara temple (A.D. 1391) in Patan (pl. XLVIII) have five roofs each. Interestingly again, though the Nyata Pau rests on multiple (five) plinths, the Kumbheśvara rests on the contrary only on one, as does the Paśupati temple. The Bhagavati temple at Nala (pl. XLIX), dated approximately to the 15th century stands on a single plinth but has almost uniquely four roofs. The Kāshṭhamaṇḍapa at Kathmandu (pl. XXXIX) has three roofs on a single plinth. Examples of temples with a single roof are many and these are usually the smaller shrines.

There is thus apparently no correspondence between the number of plinths on the one hand and the number of roofs of the temples standing on them on the other, though there is always a proportionate arrangement and pleasing balance between the two in height.²

The brick walls are pierced by wooden doors, windows, or other iserts to break the drab monotony of plain brick walls. The woodworks, wherever they occur, are richly carved with decorative patterns or figures of divinities. The sloping roofs are supported on these walls, over a framework of rafters and purlins, further supported by sloping wooden brackets, called *tunāls* (pls. XVII-XXI), anchored at their lower ends on the top of the brick walls.

The higher storeys of the roof are arranged in a receding manner, by reducing the heights of the vertical walls of the roofs between the tiers, as well by reducing their

¹Snellgrove (*op. cit.*, IX, p. 106) is inclined to believe that the rectangular based shrines like the Bagh Bhairava temple at Kirtipur (pl. XCVI) do not resemble tapering towers and it would be misleading to the readers to call them 'pagodas'. It is difficult to comprehend the point in view of our effort to disabuse the minds of readers of the idea of the association of the multiple-roofed temples with non-descript *pagodas*. They are undoubtedly multiple-roofed temples and belong to the category of *devalas*. This phenomenon occurs in the Bhairava temple near the Nyatapau at Bhaktapur (pl. LXXXVII).

²Snellgrove (*op. cit.*, IX, p. 102) says that the additional roofs were probably added to show respect to the god enshrined within. This argument is hardly convincing as there are several anomalies which give the lie direct to this assumption. The temple of Paśupati, the temple *par excellence* of Nepal, has only two roofs whereas several lesser shrines have a larger number of roofs.

expanse or size on plan by a method of corbelling (pl. XCVII). The topmost roof converges either upon a point or a longitudinal ridge. The point or ridge is surmounted by either a single *kalasa*, or a row of three, five, seven, nine or eleven *kalasas*, of gilt metal, and is further surmounted by a single parasol (*chhatra*) or a complex group of parasols, often accompanied by a matching flag (*dhvaja*). The whole complex is called the *gajura*. The *gajura* (pl. L), which occurs on *stūpas* or *chaityas* and sometimes occurs also on the *nāgara* shrines, is a peculiar characteristic of Nepalese temples, and apart from the complement of the associative features of the finial complex listed above, there is a tripod-like frame of gilt metal protecting the components from falling as it were and holding them all together.

The brackets supporting the eaves of the roofs bear sculptured figures and carved ornamental patterns in three horizontally arranged groups, zones, or rows (pls. XVII-XXI). The upper row is usually an assemblage of hanging foliage. The major part occupied by the row in the middle displays one or other aspect of the deity, and the lowest is ear-marked for a variety of purposes, namely, a descriptive or narrative panel, an erotic composition of animal or human figures, or something else. The brackets in the corners, supporting the junction of two eaves are in the form of rampant lions, denoting at once strength and sturdiness as well as the sustenance of the supreme power symbolized by the deity who rides the lions. The erotic scenes in the lowest part of the wooden brackets are often explained away as helping to avert the evil or shy eyes of the thunderbolt which is conceived of as a maiden and who is naturally abashed and repulsed by such scenes.¹

¹Passages in the *Utkalakhaṇḍa* of the *Agni Purāṇa* and *Brihatsamhitā* have been invoked in support of this explanation, though it has not been accepted by modern interpreters (See Urmila Agarwal, *Khajuraho Sculptures* etc., 1964, p. 207). The subject has been dealt with at length recently by G. Tucci in his latest book entitled *Ratilila*, Rome, 1970. The subtitle, *An Interpretation of the Tantric Imagery of the Temples of Nepal*, seeks to express the significance. The obscene scenes, in spite of their crudity, carry the symbolism of creation, leading to higher birth on the way to spiritual advancement. The prevalent jejune idea about their purpose of abashing and avoiding the stroke of lightning has been summarily dismissed by him. Nevertheless, it should be noted that some of the poses of coitus, as in the *ṭuṇāls* of the towers of Basantapur, are named and labelled.

That such erotic figures occur on the *ṭuṇāls* of mostly of Śaivite temples, but also occasionally on the *ṭuṇāls* of even Viṣṇu temples like the Dattatreya temple at Bhaktapur (pl. LI), the Jagannatha temple at Hanuman Dhoka, or the Bhimsena temple in the Durbar Square at Kathmandu and are otherwise absent from the Buddhist shrines or monasteries emphasise the popular belief connected with the maiden goddess of lightning. The veneer slabs fixed on the inner face of the plinth around the paved quadrangle of the Kumārī Ghar at Kathmandu in terracotta show erotic scenes involving even animals. This is an exceptional phenomenon in a Buddhist building but it can be justified perhaps because of its being a Brahmapical establishment as well.

Snellgrove (*op. cit.*, p. 110) is of the view that the erotic figures are "simply manifestations of Siva and Shakti". What justification there is for this assumption cannot be guessed, in the absence of any evidence cited. Though he is right that "these have little to do with protecting the shrine from lightning"; the statement that "it is only the Shaivite temples which have figures in sexual

Nevertheless, the fact that these scenes are associated mainly with Brahmanical, usually Saivite, shrines and the resultant sectarian preference for the erotic scenes makes the handy and jejune explanation unacceptable.

It would be easily inferred that clay has been used throughout as the mortar for building all kinds of structures in Nepal. The Nepalese clay is very elastic and has incredibly durable cementing properties which help even the building of large and tall edifices of several storeys.

Strangely, however, a thick layer of clay is introduced between the upper surface of the web of rafters and purlins and the covering course of close-fitting tiles of small size as a constructional device. The purpose was, apparently, to prevent leakage of rain water by delaying the process of percolation through a thick layer in the absence of a leak-proof roofing material. This procedure is not without its defects. The clay which thus become permeated with moisture transfers its moisture to the underlying wood-work coming into contact with it, leading to a quicker (though incredibly slow) degeneration of the timber¹ requiring replacement of the affected parts at comparatively frequent intervals. The practice of using unseasoned timber which continues largely to be in vogue till this day has been another factor leading to quicker decay of the edifice. The absence of any chemical treatment against dry rot, moisture or damage by insects such as termites, at the initial stage of construction or of employing the process periodically according to need has helped further to lower the life span of the structures.

As a result, the ancient temples were required to be extensively repaired or even rebuilt from time to time to ensure the continued life of the shrines of the deities duly installed and consecrated therein. Fortunately, Nepalese monarchs and donors, have carefully recorded the accounts of the repairs, though they lack the exact details, carried out to the ancient monuments as and when required, for the information of posterity.

embrace on the struts" remains questionable in view of what has been stated above. These are at best mirrors of life laying an emphasis on existence, which is the result of the sexual act, even in aberration, even as the erotic scenes at Khajuraho, or in Orissa do. This point has been amply elaborated by G. Tucci, *ibid.* It may be noted that the Sun temple (Vishnu) at Konarak or the Jagannatha temple at Puri are as notorious as some of the Saivite temples in Bhubaneswar or Khajuraho in displaying the erotic scene which would go to justify the plausibility of Tucci's explanation of the phenomenon. But the occurrence of the names of the postures, sometimes very complex and aesthetically reprehensible, in the form of descriptive labels ending in the word *śrīṅgāra* as referred to above should cause a rethinking of the interpretation of the phenomenon. In passing it may be observed that even Tucci's laboured interpretation fails to convince. Under the circumstances the phenomenon has to be attributed to an as yet inexplicable aberration of the human mind.

¹N.R. Banerjee, 'Some Thoughts on the Architecture of Nepal', *Vasudha*, Nepal, May-June 1970, Vol. XIV, no. 6, pp. 18-19.

The *raison d'être* of the evolution of the sloping roofs of the *devala* temples, as of other structures in the *śikhara* style, even when in multiple numbers is to be attributed to the needs of disposal and drainage of the heavy rainfall and the occasional fall of snow experienced by the valley of Kathmandu¹. The outspread roofs have also saved the structural parts covered by them from direct lashes of sharp showers and thus helped minimise the damage. The sloping outline of the roofs also drew inspiration, as one may be inclined to surmise, from the outlines of the mountains which at once formed a comparable and contrasting background. The multiple roofs must have come in response to the demand for height and proportion for the superstructure in relation to the substructure which itself rose up in receding tiers for effecting a balance and symmetry between the two. Furthermore as the only space left to the builders of such temples for decorative or didactic or edificatory carvings, the larger the number of roofs, the larger was the scope for the utilization and exploitation of the artistic talent.

The structural form of the *devala* temples was no doubt influenced by the nature of the soil of the terrain where they occur. In fact, the structural complex necessarily involved the use of wood and a pliant mortar, such as clay, that made for elasticity of the edifice which was so essential to the region where the soil was prone to seismic movement as a result of periodical landslides or earthquakes, in the interest of the mere solidarity of the structure.

The extensive use of bricks in the constructions was a natural development as it was difficult to obtain the proper kind of stones² in the neighbourhood suitable for purposes of building. But as bricks did not lend themselves to much embellishment or sculptural ornamentation, wood, which was available plentifully, was used as supplementary or complementary building material, and the expansively large and bare surfaces of wood could also be carved decoratively.

As a matter of fact, the difficulties of obtaining the proper materials of construction, the solid and rather inelastic feature of the resultant structure in the crackly soil of a terrain prone to earthquakes, the inadequacy of the materials for purposes of sculptural ornamentation, which had inescapably to be a concomitant and essential feature of architecture, specially from the artist's point of view, in combination with several other factors, probably made for the emergence and greater popularity of the

¹This aspect is exemplified by the erection of a series of wooden or metal-covered roofs (pls. XLI & LII) around the upper parts of the *śikhara* shrines in the Himalayan belt in India, e.g., at Kedarnath, Badrinath (pl. LII), Baijnath, Jageswar, Dwarhat etc., emphasizing the utilitarian inspiration of the fan-like roofs.

²The stones readily available in the hills around the valley are friable, and are not, therefore, suitable for building purposes. Nevertheless, stone slabs of the rather weaker grain have often indeed been used to secure the edges of the plinths and platforms or in the staircases to reduce the wear and tear of spots most subjected to treading by human feet or wearing off by the flow of water.

In this context, it may be stated that even bricks were enriched with moulded decorations whenever or wherever permissible.

devala style of temples in Nepal. Even so the *nāgara* style was not altogether abandoned. On the contrary the style was treated with due respect as is indicated by the placement of miniature replicas of the style in the *gajura* complex or in the centre of the *dhuṅgedhārās* (enclosed and spouted fountains), as the case may be. The evidence of the construction of temples in the basic *nāgara* style even in the nineteenth century establishes the point. The complexes of temple at Swayambhu and Paśupatinath, and the Durbar Squares of Patan and Bhaktapur clearly established the continued juxtaposition of and love for both the styles. In fact, the evidence of the popularity of the *grantha-kūṭa* style in which temples were built even in the 17th century also indicates the factual position.

3. THE ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY OF THE DEVALA STYLE

(i) General

One of the vexed questions that are often asked in respect of the style of *devala* shrines is in regard to its origin. Diverse theories have been advanced, but none of them can so far claim to clinch the issue. The question is intimately connected with the antiquity of the style itself. The oldest surviving example in Nepal cannot be traced earlier than the 14th century A.D.¹, though the vast majority of surviving or living temples of this style belongs to the still later periods. Unless evidence can be adduced for the existence of the style prior to the 14th century, the question cannot be answered on the basis of negative evidence alone. The earliest evidence of the prevalence of this style of temples is indicated in an illustration of a temple in manuscript of the eleventh century entitled *Śivadharmā Purāṇa*². Even on this showing the antiquity of the style can be pushed further back to this date.³

It has become customary among writers of Nepalese art or architecture to cite the evidence of the leader of the Chinese Mission to Nepal, Wang-huen-tse⁴ during the

¹The Kumbheśvara temple at Lalitpur was built in N.S. 512, i.e. A.D., 1391. The fact is recorded in a stone slab inscription. See Regmi, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 33-35.

²I owe this information to Shri Krishna Deva, formerly of the Archaeological Survey of India. But an actual examination of the painted illustration shows a series of three superimposed yet horizontal canopies rather roofs over an arched shrine. To connect this occurrence with the sloping multi-roofed style of temples appears to be rather a laboured endeavour, and in the fitness of things the idea itself should be dismissed.

³S.K. Saraswati has pointed out (R.C. Majumdar, *History of Ancient Bengal*, p.615) that the style goes back to the Gupta period at Sarnath and by the 7th century the idea and the form had actually travelled to the Burmese territory (fig. 2 from its epicentre through the contiguous lands of Bengal).

⁴Regmi (*Ancient Nepal*, Revised Edition, 1969, pp. 229-300), writes "The description of the palace of Naling-ti-po,...may be identified with the style of buildings which is wrongly known as the pagoda style.... The style represents temples or houses of a hierarchical and sloping roofs in tiers, storey upon storey, standing upon a pavement, supported by a single or more hierarchical platforms. The Pagoda style of architecture was attributed to the Chinese and as such was generally believed to have travelled thence to Tibet and Nepal (Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II, p. 369). But now we have a definite information from the Chinese sources that till 646 A.D., there was no like of it to be seen in China".

rule of Narendra Deva in the middle of the 7th century about the palace of the king and many storied temples on a hill near the capital in support of the antiquity of the style. The description of the wondrous architectural specimens of Nepal in his day has been retained in the annals of the Tang dynasty. The palace of the king, according to this description, was built on three terraces (apparently plinths) and had seven storeys. The palace was more than 200 ft. (61 metres) in height and was more than 80 paces in circumference.¹ In the centre of the palace was a unique tower in seven storeys covered with copper tiles. Wang-huen-tse had not seen the like of it anywhere else. The palace described in the annals is apparently the *Kailasakūṭabhavana* of Amsuvarma, which Narendradeva, the then reigning monarch, had inherited. He also describes a Buddhist monastery in several storeys situated on an isolated hill to the south of the capital.²

Though the admiring words of the Chinese visitor mentions a seven-storied palace, a seven-storied tower, and a seven-storied monastery, there is no direct or even indirect reference to seven different or superimposed and sloping roofs in any case. This evidence cannot, therefore, be used to denote or establish the existence at this date of the multiple-roofed style of temples.³

The Patan Sundhara inscription⁴ of the year 34, i.e., A.D. 629 of Amsuvarman refers indeed to the construction of temples (particularly the temple at Māṭin) with bricks

¹D.R. Regmi calculates this (80 paces) as 400 ft. (122 meters). This indicates a rather small size and can scarcely be indicative of the magnificence claimed for the king's palace. See Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, Revised Edition, 1969, p. 239. The height indeed was very imposing, befitting a palace tower.

²Stella Kramrisch in *The Art of Nepal*, 1964, p. 20, presumably interprets this for "temples of many stories on an isolated mountain near the capital". Contrast the statement on p. 83, part II of *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* by Thomas Watters, First Indian Edition, 1961, which speaks of a "monastery of several storeys" instead. Professor Kramrisch's statement, being interpretative, can, therefore, be discounted in view of the factual record being clearly to the contrary.

³Contrast what Regmi has to say on the subject, *op. cit.*, p. 300. To quote Regmi: "The possibility, therefore, of the style to have travelled from Nepal to China and other countries is more acceptable. It was during the seventh century that the advent was made by this style into Tibet mainly through Nepalese efforts. All credit goes to those who not only produced a new masterly style of architecture but also gave expression to the same way, such as, was gladly copied by others". Unsubstantiated as this statement is, it can at best be held as subjective and wishful.

⁴R. Gnoli, *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters*, No. XXXVIII, p. 53: The relevant passage contained in lines 5-7, is as follows:

"Māṭindevakulamardhavinipatite śhṭaka paṅkti vivara pravishṭa
nakulakulākulita mūshikāsārtha dūrā vighaṭita nirava
śesha-dvāra-kavāṭavātāyanādi jīṇadāru saṁghātam yatnataḥ
pratisaṁskārya .."

It means that the temple in the village of Māṭin, which was built of bricks and wood, and which had been ruined by the mongooses and rats who made holes around it, with the woodworks, the gates, door panels and the windows, and the bricks being thrown helter skelter, was completely renovated. That the construction of a temple with bricks and wood at a time not very far removed from the days of

and wood, and the provision, particularly, of doors and windows, also of wood. The style of temples implied by the details of component parts and building materials points to the *devala* shrine rather than to the *śikhara* shrine. Even so this inference can be held only tentatively and provisionally, the evidence being at best circumstantial and presumptive, because the use of bricks and wood is not precluded from the *śikhara* shrines. It is established that the Nepal Samvat prevalent in Nepal till 1769 was introduced by Raghava Deva of the Thakuri dynasty with effect from the 20th October 879, and this is described as the *Paśupati bhaṭṭāraka saṁvatsara* making a dedication to Lord Paśupati. It is, therefore, tempting to infer and suggest that the founding of the era may have been connected with the renovation of the temple of Paśupati at Kathmandu on the date signified.¹

Nevertheless, it can be stated with confidence that the multiple-roofed temple style, whether or not standing on a raised level made of a multiple receding plinths, one superimposed on the other, emerged long before A.D. 1349, when the Paśupati temple was sacked by Sultan Shamsuddin Ilyas of Bengal. The inscriptional or literary evidence refers only to the shattering of the image of Paśupati into three bits.² The eventual

using carved stone slabs as veneers to the temple walls must be considered rather strange in view of the admissible precedence of the *nāgara* style to the *devala* in Nepal. This singular circumstance alone would point to the early emergence of the *devala* style in the country. But the vast lacunae of evidence of the existence of temples of this style, not to speak of their popularity, until the 14th century would not yet permit a firm conclusion on the subject. Such a phenomenon is quite plausible on the showing of the evidence cited by S.K. Saraswati (see p. 82 *ante*).

¹It has been suggested that the era was founded to celebrate the deliverance of Nepal from the hands of Tibet (H. Goetz, 'Early Indian Sculptures from Nepal, *Artibus Asiae*, XVIII, 1955, p. 64.

²The fact of the havoc caused by the raid of Sultan Shamsuddin is described in the Swayambhu Stūpa stone slab inscription of the year 492 in the following words (Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, III, pp. 21-22) :

Saptatyadhika Śrīmannepālavdachatuḥṣate |
Mārgaśīrṣhe sitepakshe daśamyām guruvāsare ||
Suratrāṇa Samasdino Vaṅgāla bahulairvalaiḥ |
Sahāgatya cha Nepālo bhagno dagdhascha sarvaśaḥ ||

A similar reference to this raid was made in the Patan Pimbahal stone slab inscription of the year N.S. 479 (Regmi, *ibid.*, pp. 19-20) where the relevant words are as follows :

Srutāna samasadino Yavanādhirājāḥ
Nepāla sarvanagaram bhaṣmīka(ro)ti.

The fact of the attack on the Paśupati temple is mentioned in section 28 of *Gopālarājavarṇāśāvali*. It mentions that the king Jayarajadeva contributed some treasures to the temple of the Lord, including the arrangements for their safe custody in the year N.S. 468 (*i.e.*, A.D. 1348), and shortly thereafter in the year 469 (A.D. 1349), Sultan Shamsuddin split the image of Paśupati into *three bits*, and set fire to many places. The words actually used are as follows :

"Pūrva Suratrāṇa Samasdinamāgatya
Nepālam Śrī Paśupati trikhaṇḍīkritā
Nepāla smasta bhaṣmī bhavan"

This is also confirmed in Newari in Section 52 of the same work. It may be noted that the Sanskrit version suffers from inaccuracy of language.

restoration of the image by the ceremonial replacement of a new image took place in A.D. 1360.¹ The record does not refer either to any earlier destruction of the temple or its subsequent reconstruction, as the evidence of reconstruction clearly obtains in respect of the Swayambhu *stūpa* in Kathmandu or the Pimbahal *stūpa* in Patan both of which had suffered devastation at the hands of Shamsuddin. This would lead to the presumption that though the temple was defiled by the invader, it was probably not destroyed. The subsequent records of repairs to the temple do not mention any change of its architectural style, and this would confirm the prevalence of the multiple-roofed temple at the date. In this context it would be safe to presume that the Paśupati temple acquired its multiple-roofed form at least as early as A.D. 879, if not still earlier.

The earliest reference to Lord Paśupati occurs in the Hadigaon inscription of Amsuvarman, and this would mean that the temple of Paśupati at Kathmandu (Deopatan) had come into existence before this date. The general and indirect indications of the Sundhara (Patan) inscription of Amsuvarman, and the absence of any evidence of the radical event, as it must have been so reckoned at the time of the change in the architectural style of the temple, if it had taken place at all, in the inscriptions of the intermediate period between the times of Amsuvarman and A.D. 1349 would point to the *devala* style. It is also indicated by the evidence of Sivadeva III of the second Sūryavamśi Thakuri dynasty having added a roof to the Paśupati temple² in the twelfth century. But the temple was completely destroyed by termites in 1693 when it was re-built by Bhupalendramalla.³

¹The evidence of the reconstruction is contained in the Newari part, section 54, of the *Gopālārājavamśāvalī* which mentions that the great Minister Jayasimharama restored the broken image of Paśupati in the year N.S. 480 (1360). The actual words are as follows :

“*Sam 480 vaiśākha śukla dutiya bhagna Śrī Paśupatiśa
sthāpanā yāngā dina, jayasimharāma Mahattha Bhasana*”

The evidence is also supported by the Itumbahal stone slab inscription of the year N.S. 502 (i.e., A.D. 1382), wherein Jayasimharamavardhana is described as the one who had installed the image of Paśupati (Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, III, No. XXX, p. 25).

That the installation refers only to the *liṅga* is recorded by the Deopatan inscription of Dharmamalla (Regmi, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 36-37). The words actually used are *vidhvasta Śrīśrīśrī Paśupati liṅga pratishṭhā kritāchārya*. It is particularly significant to note that such words as *pratisamskāra jīrṇoddhāra*, or *punarnirmāṇa* have not been used in connection with the reinstallation of the image.

²Sivadeva III, ruled in N.S. 218-246 i.e., A.D. 1098-1126. He is stated to have made a donation to the Paśupati temple (L. Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal*, Rome, 1958 pp. 55-59). Balachandra Sharma (*Nepālko Aitihāsika Rūparekhā*, p. 115) states positively that Sivadeva added a roof to the Paśupati temple, implying the existence of a roofed or multiple roofed temple at the period.

³The work of restoration was carried out jointly by the queen mother Riddhilakshmi and the king as described in a *Thyasaphu*. See Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, II, pp. 151-52. It can generally be surmised, however, that the style was retained unaltered.

(ii) *The Evidence of Multiple-roofed Temples in India*

The study of the problem of the origin of the *devala* style of temples in Nepal involving, in particular, the use of multiple plinths, would lead naturally to a comparative study of available prototypes in the neighbouring countries, namely, in India and China, as to possible signs of contacts and mutual influences if any in the past.

The subject of temples with gables or multiple roofs in India has been dealt with at some length by Percy Brown.¹ The theme has also been dealt with variously and piecemeal by James Fergusson² and Benjamin Rowland³ as well.

Temples with either actual multiple roofs or with strong semblances of the same occur in widely separated regions, namely, Kashmir, Chamba (Himachal Pradesh), and Kathiawar (Gujarat), in the northern parts of India, besides Karnataka and Kerala in the west coast of the south Indian peninsula.

These again may be divided stylistically into two groups, each homogenous within itself. One group encompasses the type prevalent in Kashmir and Gujarat, and is marked by two or three superimposed roofs and a pyramidal profile. The other type, confined to Karnataka and Kerala, and bearing strong resemblances to the Nepalese temples, is distinguished by multiple sloping roofs, in wood or in stone.

The *Kathiawad* examples are represented at Gop (pl. LIII), Kadvar and Bilesvara, respectively.⁴ Those in *Kashmir* comprise mainly the temple at Pandrethan⁵ (pl. LIV), dated, variously, to the 10th century, according to Fergusson,⁶ and the 12th century, according to Brown and Rowland⁷ and the temples at Payar (pl. LV).⁸ The former has

¹P. Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu), Chapter XXVII on "Temples with Gable or Multiple Roofs", pp. 131-33.

²James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. I, pp. 251-301; Vol. II, pp. 75-83, 446 ff.

³B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India* (Buddhist/Hindu/Jain), 1967, pp. 118-122 and 157-60.

⁴P. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 131. He mentions that "something of the same character may be seen in a temple at Visavada, and in the temple of Sūrya at Sutrapada". The temple at Visavada has a vertical shaft, built of plain slabs of stone with a series of four superimposed roofs, also in stone, in receding form, recalling a multiple-roofed shrine. The Gop temple which has two superimposed roofs is dated 6th century A.D.

⁵*Ibid*, p. 161; Fergusson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 267-269.

⁶Fergusson, *ibid*, p. 267, dates it to the beginning of the 10th century A.D., and Rama Chandra Kak dates it to the 12th century A.D.

⁷Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 161, dates in to the middle of the 12th century, and Rowland (*op. cit.*, p. 120) dates it to A.D. 1135.

⁸Fergusson (*op. cit.*, pp. 268-269), dates it to the 10th century, and Ram Chandra Kak, (*Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, London 1933 pp. 126-128) to the 11th century.

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three roofs and the latter only two. But Cunningham had noted a stone model with four superimposed roofs.¹

The temples have a slight projection and the entrance door on each of its four faces rest upon a square plan with a gabled top. This aspect and the absence of any adjunct or axial additions have led to the classification of this type of temples as of the *mandapa* style.²

It was held by Percy Brown that both the Kashmir and Kathiawad groups of temples were contemporaneous, and were datable to the latter half of the first millennium A.D.³ The Kathiawad temples have further been attributed by him to an extraneous tribe called the Mers.

The similarity between the temples of these two widely separated regions stop short at the twin features of the pyramidal shape and the superimposed aspect of the roof. Brown has also included the *jagmohans* of the Orissan temples within this group, as a distant echo of the style, though strictly speaking, such an inclusion is indeed suggestive in view of the comparative lessening in these cases of the overhanging aspect of the roof, and the complete absence of the projected profile. The overall conical shape or profile of the temples is again as essential in this region to meet the challenge posed by downpours as in the coastal or Himalayan areas. Brown was of the view that these temples were 'rather in the manner of the stories of a Chinese pagoda'. It is not yet determinable if there is any genetic or inspirational connection⁴ between the styles of the two regions. It is also likely that the style evolved independently in the two regions as responses to local environments and requirements.

In fact, the roofs in these cases were built of stone slabs or tiers of stone carvings so placed as to provide a sloping profile or outline so that heavy rain or even heavy snowfall, as the case may be, could slide or glide down the sloping surface. The use of stone in Kashmir for the roof was significantly for coping with the heavy fall of snow which was a regular feature of this region, and it emerged, therefore, as a response to the demand of nature.

The numerous multiple-roofed structures in *Kerala*⁵ and *Karnataka* on the other hand recall at once similarities to the multiple-roofed temples of Nepal. They occur in Beypore, Thiruvalla, Tiruvilvamalai, Trichur and Guruvayur in Kerala and Mudabidri, Bhatkal and Karkala in the South Kanara District of Karnataka (Mysore).

¹A Cunningham, 'Essay on the Asian Order of Architecture', J.A.S.B., 1848. D.R. Sahni quotes the views of Sir John Marshall in his report on the "Pre-Muhammedan Monuments of Kashmir", *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, (1915-16), p. 53, which purports to say that the straight-sided pyramidal roofs of the Kashmiri temples were, no doubt, two-storied, but his suggestion that some had three or more storeys were seemingly unfounded. See also Fergusson *op. cit.*, pp. 255-56 and Woodcut no. 141, p. 256.

²This has been discussed in detail below.

³Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 131. The temple at Gop has been dated as not later than the sixth century.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁵These have been studied afresh by H. Sarkar, in his book on *Kerala Temples*, New Delhi, 1978.

The temple of Siva, called Mahadeva Kovil, at Beypore (pl. LVI) is described by Brown as a deliberate copy of a double-roofed Nepalese temple of the mediaeval period.¹ Technically there seems to have existed a fundamental difference between the multiple-roofed temples of the two regions in the method adopted to support the eaves. The ubiquitous corner brackets correspond indeed to the corner *ṭuṇāls* of Nepal, but the intermediate brackets are arranged vertically instead of at an angle for the transference of the load on to these vertical brackets. These support an additional beam placed in a recess pushed considerably behind the outer line of the eaves.

The temple of Thiruvalla² in the Travancore area of Kerala has three superimposed roofs. The lowest roof is distinguished by a gable-roofed projection in the centre of each side, resulting in the breaking up of the lines of the profile, alternately advancing and retreating. The two other roofs also carry diminutively a gable-roofed projection in the middle of each side serving as a dormer window to let in light and allow entrapped gases to escape, besides promoting general ventilation. Though utilitarian and functional in purpose, they also serve to maintain symmetry and proportion to enhance the beautiful aspect of the broken outline.

The Vadakkunatha temple of Siva-Parvati at Trichur is a circular shrine (pl. LVII), built of stone, with a conical roof covered with sheets of copper laid in the manner of tiles with close fitting joints, with the lower edge slightly turned up to form a channel for the disposal of rain water. Even the *gopuram* or entrance complex (pl. LVIII) was covered with three superimposed roofs, supported on brackets. In both cases the vertical substructure is modelled on the Dravidian style of temple architecture.

Likewise the Rama temple (pl. LIX) on the same premises has two superimposed roofs over the square *sanctum sanctorum* built in the Dravidian style. The *ardhamandapa* too has two roofs as of the shrine. The arrangement of the roofs alone is in the multiple form, but the substructure follows the traditional Dravidian architectural style. As in the case of the Thiruvalla temple, the topmost roof of the *gopuram* described above, and the topmost roof of the Rama temple have a gable ended and horse-shoe shaped dormer window, respectively, on each side.

The Lakshmana temple at Tiruvilvamalai (pl. LX), District Palghat, is two-storied and is covered by two superimposed roofs over the square substructure, built in the Dravidian style. The roofs are supported by wooden brackets, the lower ends of which are anchored into the walls of the shrine. The upper roof is distinguished by a gable-roofed projection shaped at the exterior opening like a horse-shoe window with symmetrical projections on the top and sides.

¹The outlines of the two roofs of this temple compare very favourably with the outlines of the multiple-roofed temples of Nepal, including the reverse-sloped upturned end corners of the roofs. See figs. 1 and 5 of pl. CXVIII (fig. 4) of *Indian Architecture* by P. Brown.

²Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 132, and pl. CXIX, fig. 2.

Pl. XLVIII. Patan : Kumbheswara temple (A.D. 1391).



Pl. XLIX. Nala : Bhagavati temple (17th century).



Pl. L. Kathmandu : Details of gajura over Swayambhunatha stūpa (17th century).

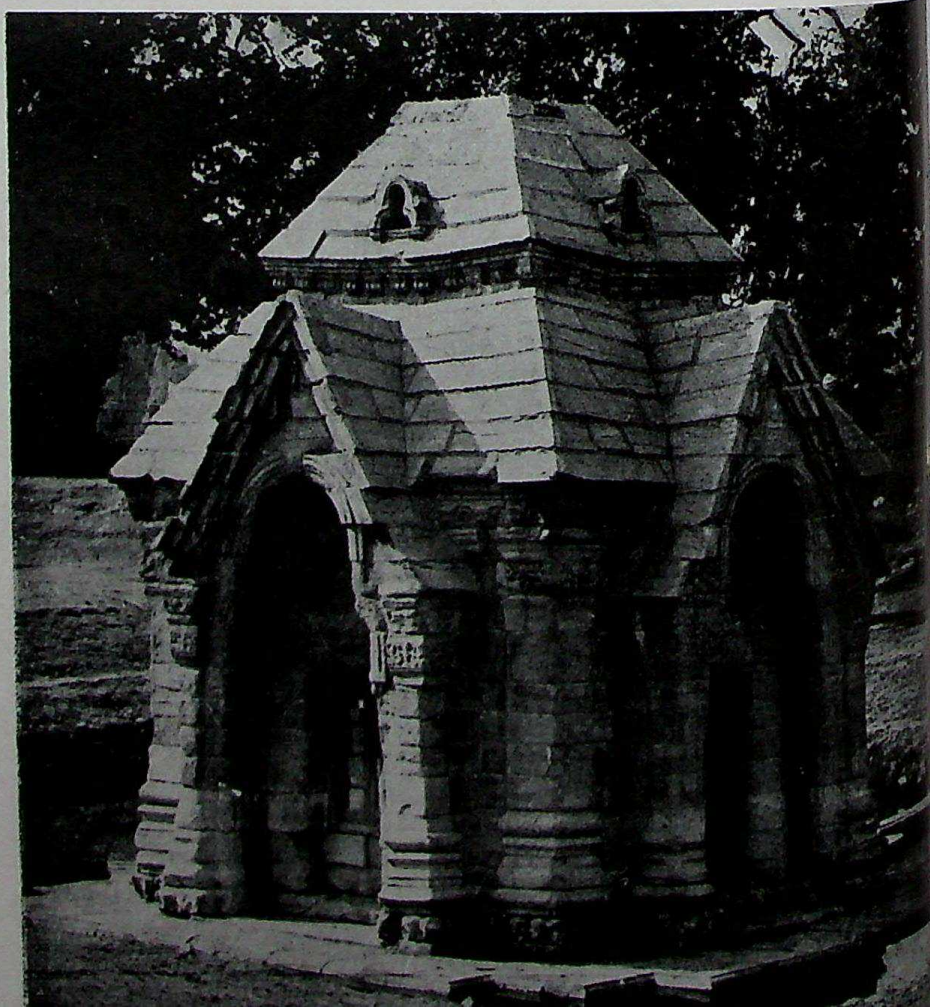
Pl. LI. Bhaktapur : Dattatreya temple (15th century).



Pl. LII. Badrinatha temple (Uttar Pradesh).



Pl. LIII. Gop (Gujarat) temple with two roofs
(circa 6th century A.D.).

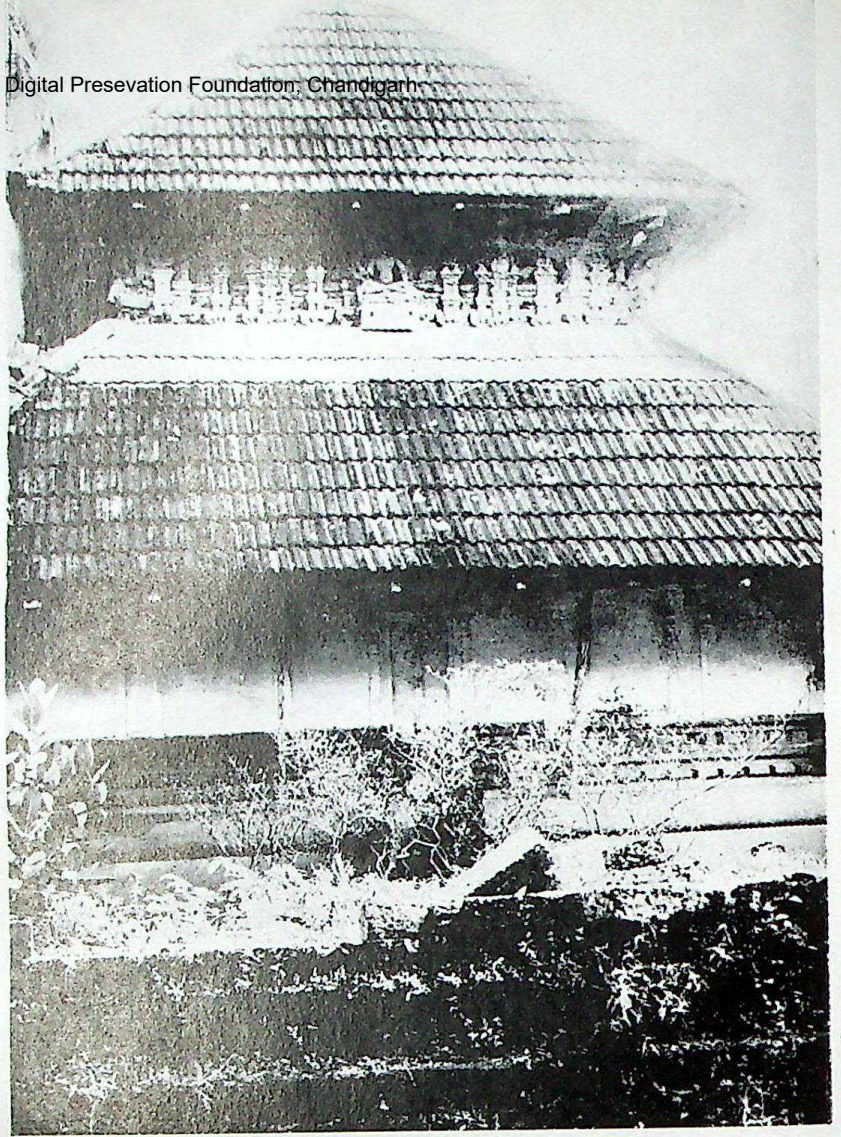


Pl. LIV. Pandrethan (Kashmir) : Siva temple
(10th century A.D.)



Pl. LV. Payar (Kashmir) : Temple.

Pl. LVI. Beypore (Kerala) : Siva temple
(Late phase of Kerala temples).



Pl. LVII. Trichur (Kerala) : Vadakkunatha temple (11th century).





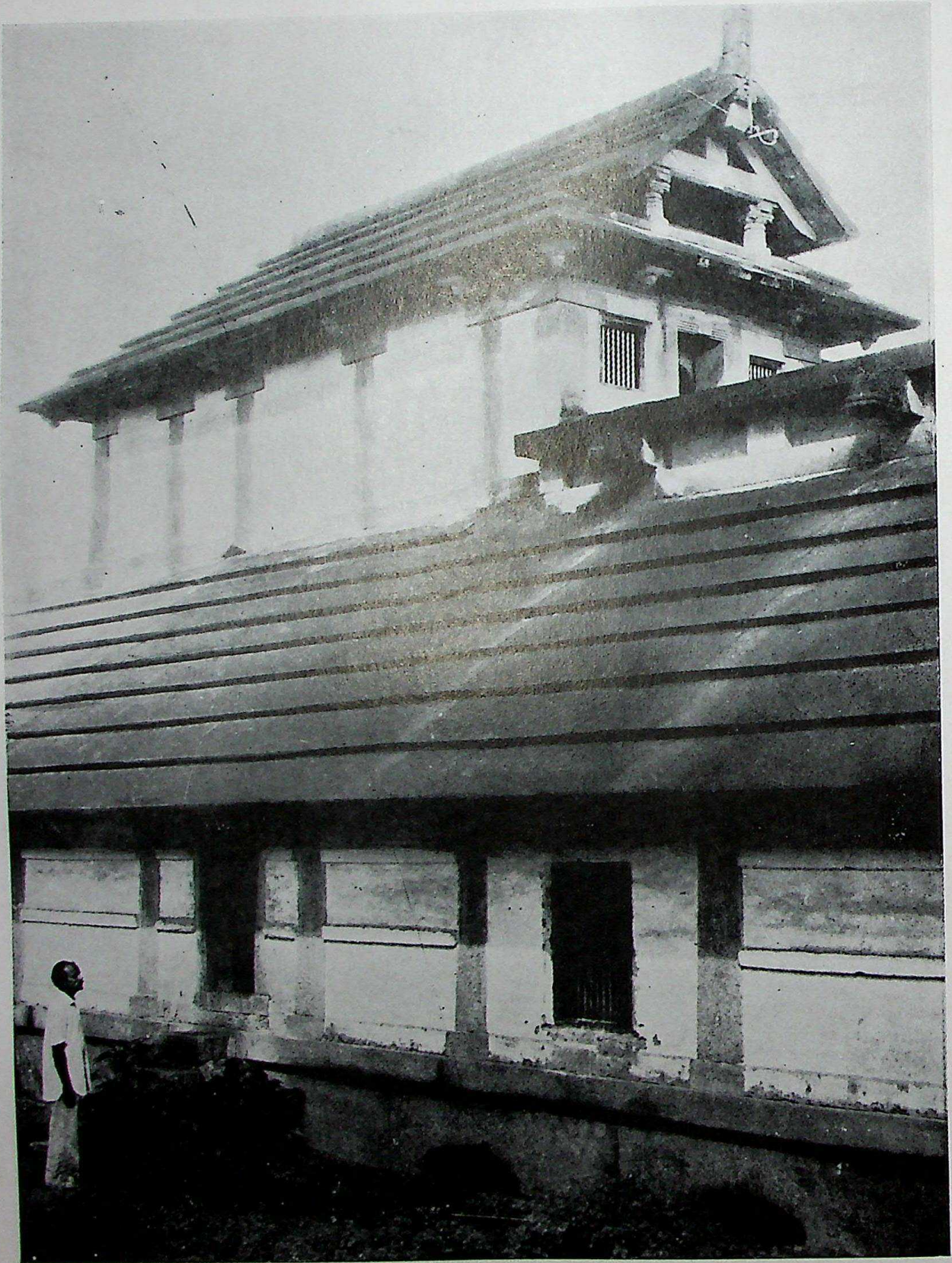
Pl. LVIII. Trichur (Kerala) : Vadakkunatha temple *gopuram* (11th century).



Pl. LIX. Trichur (Kerala) : Rama Temple (11th century).

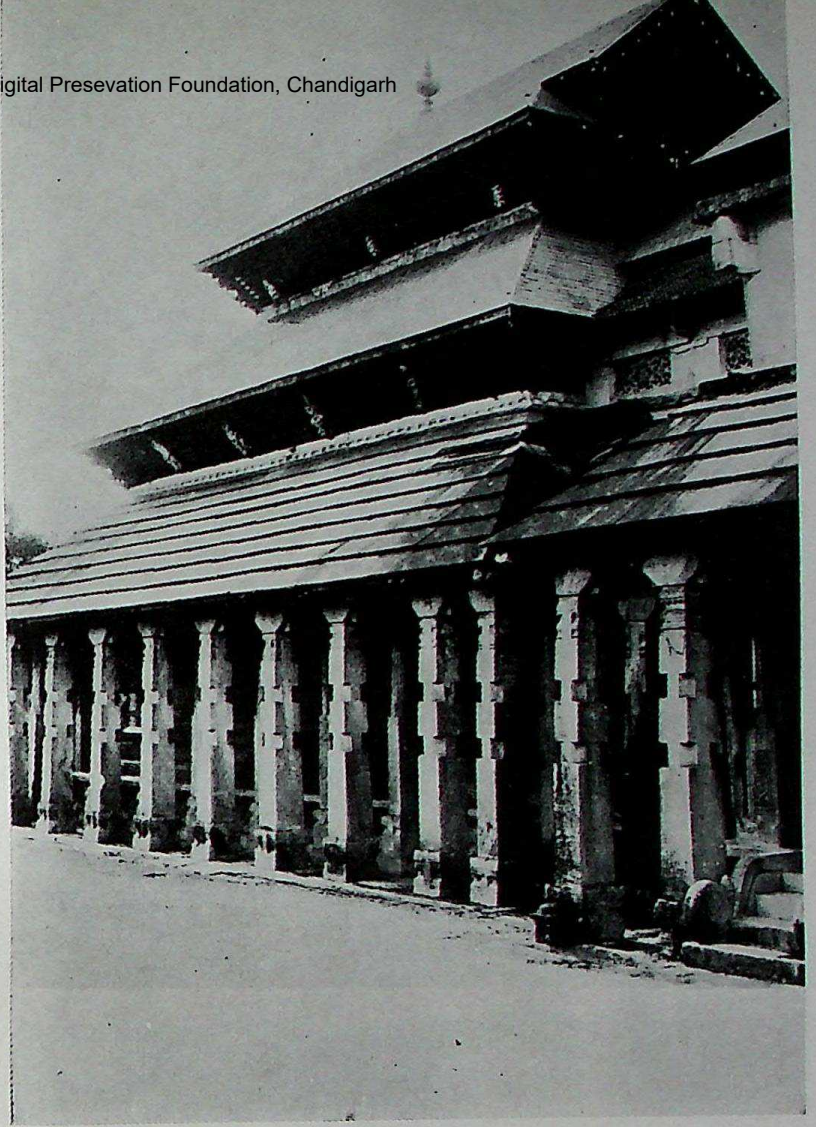


Pl. LX. Tiruvilvamalai (Kerala) : Lakshmana temple.

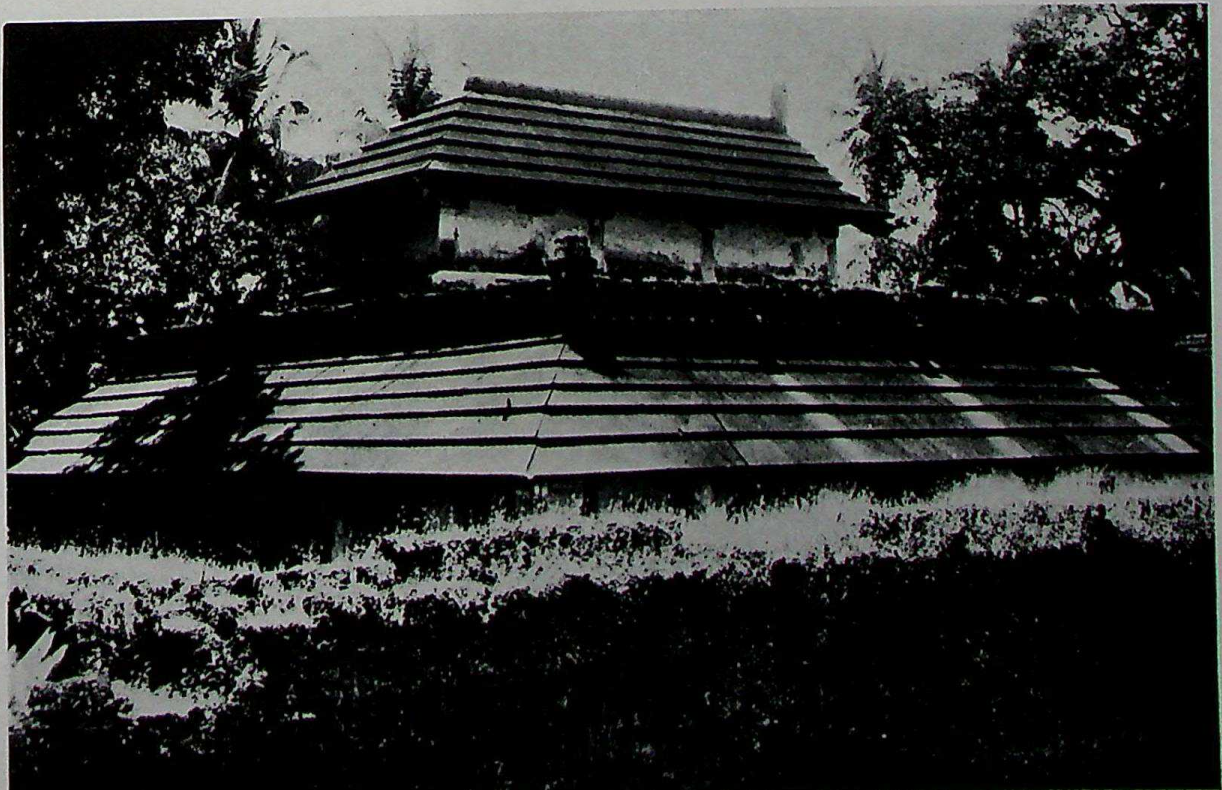


Pl. LXI. Mudabidri (Karnataka) : Chandranatha temple.

Pl. LXII. Mudabidri (Karnataka) :
Three-roofed temple.

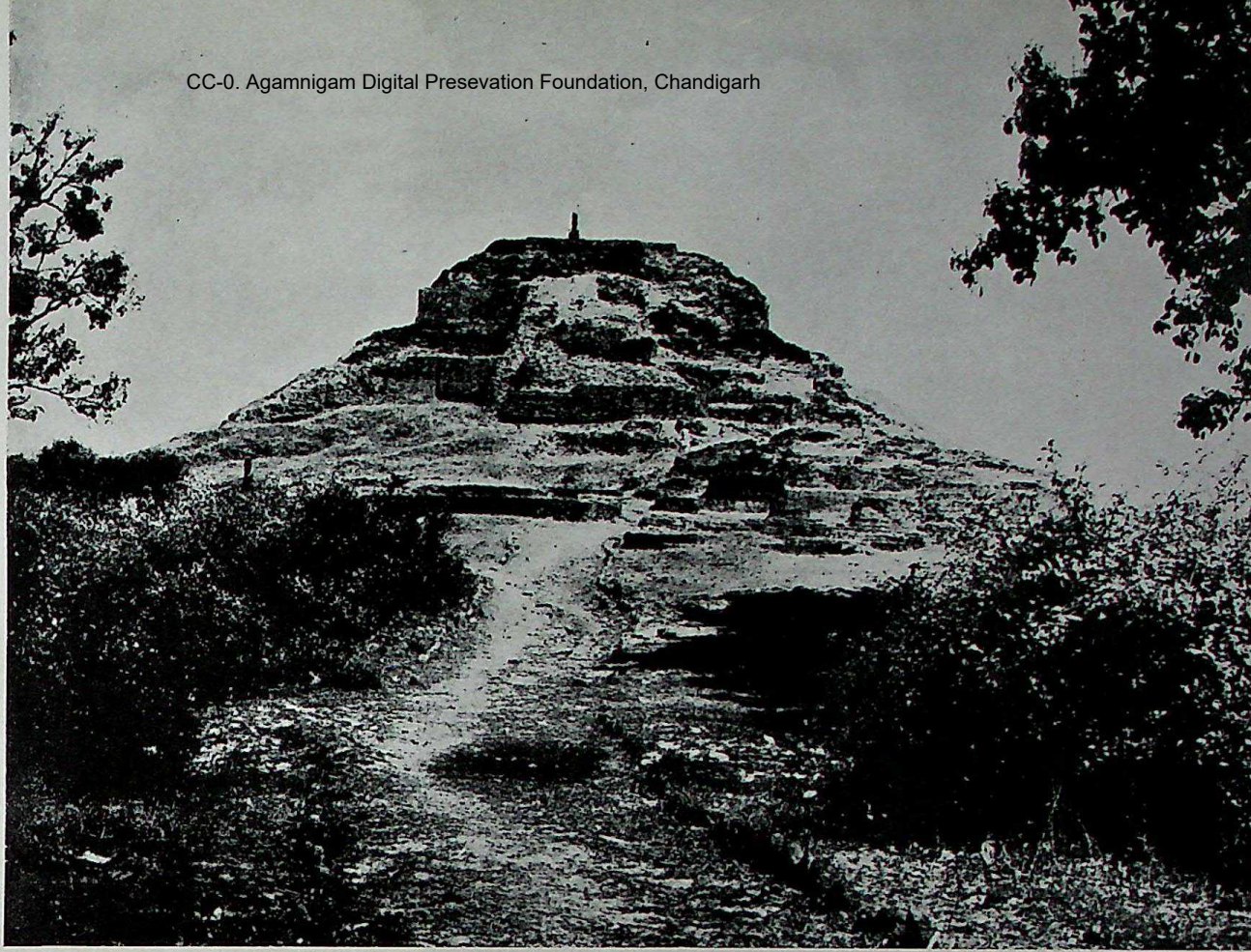


Pl. LXIII. Mudabidri (Karnataka) : Hariharanatha-Mallinatha temple.





Pl. LXIV. Mudabidri (Karnataka) : Jain tombs.



Pl. LXV. Ahichchhatra (Uttar Pradesh) : multiple-plinthed temple (5th century).

Pl. LXVI. Ahichchhatra (Uttar Pradesh) : multiple-plinthed temple (5th century).





Pl. LXVII. Ahichchhatra (Uttar Pradesh) : Siva *linga* over top of temple plinth (5th century).

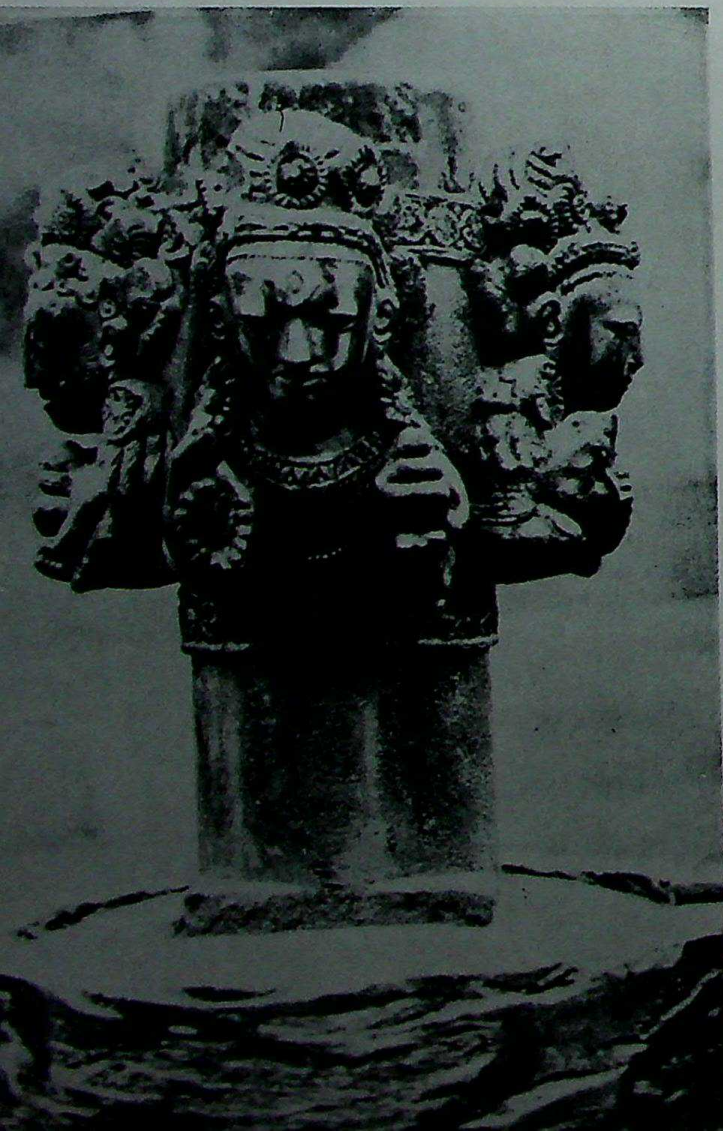


Pl. LXVIII. Patan : Asokan *stupa* much modified by repairs.



Pl. LXIX. Kathmandu : Votive *stupa* (17th century).

Pl. LXX. Bhaktapur : *Purṇaghata* in repouss work.
(18th century).



Pl. LXXI. Deopatan : *Linga* of Paśupati at Paśupati temple
(14th century).

The Bhagavati temple at Tiruvallur in the same district is a circular shrine with two superimposed roofs covered with copper sheets symmetrically and uniformly arranged in the manner of tiles.

The 15th century Chandranatha temple (pl. LXI) at Mudabidri¹ in South Kanara, in two storeys, has similar projections on each side as at Beypore, but not the gabled part on the lower roof. On the upper roof, however, there is a single gabled projection on the side facing the entrance.

Besides this, there is another temple at Mudabidri² (pl. LXII), which is basically a longitudinal hall, with three superimposed but plain and sloping roofs built with longitudinal slabs reminiscent of comparable wooden planks of possible predecessors. It is further distinguished by a longitudinal ridge over the uppermost roof. It has also rows of brackets supporting the eaves of the upper roof and are comparable to the *tunāls* of the Nepalese temples.

The Harinatha-Mallinatha temple (pl. LXIII) at Mudabidri is similar to the hall described above, except that there are two superimposed roofs instead of three in the former case.

The stone-built Anantaswami temple at Karkala, near Mangalore, in the South Kanara district of Karnataka, is also built on this principle. It is in two storeys, though the lower roof is covered with copper, which must be a later innovation. The *ardhamandapa*, lower in height than the *sanctum sanctorum*, is also in two storeys, and both the roofs are built with stone slabs.

Though built of stone, the shape and outline of the roofs suggest an inspiration from wooden prototypes as indicated above.

There are at least 16 examples of this type of temples in Mudabidri, besides those at Bhatkal. The Chandranatha temple at Bhatkal is a longitudinal hall with two superimposed roofs built of longitudinal slabs of stone.

The three-roofed pavilion resting on a set of five pillars supported on a raised plinth at Guruvayur is a quaint and yet unique variant of this very form of multiple sloping-roofed temples.

Belonging broadly to the same category of multiple-roofed structures, but not to the same form or outline are the numerous cenotaphs, if not actual tombs, of Jaina priests (pl. LXIV) at Mudabidri.³ Built of bricks, they occur in groups, and though generally low in height, they rise upto 10 metres and have as many as eight storeys.

¹Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 132; Fergusson, Vol. I, p. 76 and fig. 303.

²Fergusson, *ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 27.

³Fergusson (*ibid.*, I, pp. 79-80) describes the similarity of the outline of these tombs in the following words : "The division of each storey is a sloping roof like those of the pagodas at Kathmandu, and in China and Tibet".

Pl. LXX. Bhaktapur : *Purṇaghata* in repouss work.
(18th century).



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The covering or top of these structures consists of a series of sloping roofs, superimposed one above the other, each being of about the same size and suggesting rather a vertical column with a symmetrically broken outline. The corners of all the eaves are upturned, and each eave is separated from the one above or below it by means of an intervening vertical facet. Being cenotaphs they are all solid. It is difficult to fix or determine their chronology as they are not dated by any inscription or record.

The reasons for the emergence of the style of sloping roofs, either of stone or of metal sheets, are not far to seek. The style emerged out of the sheer necessity of having to grapple with the problem of heavy rains which this region experienced. The substructure of the *sanctum sanctorum* or the plinth over which the former rested conformed to the style of temples that was native to the soil. It was only the roof which was shaped suitably to serve the purpose of an umbrella for protection against the periodical downpours from the skies.¹

The nearest example, in style as well as in space, of the multiple-roofed temples in India corresponding to the multiple-roofed temples of Nepal is the one typified by the temple at Chergaon² on the Sutlej in Chamba, Himachal Pradesh (fig. 3). The temple is built essentially of wood with three superimposed and sloping roofs. The topmost tier of the roof is distinctively circular, a form with which we are familiar in Nepal as well as in Kerala. Peculiarly, however, and unlike anything in Nepal, the temple has an *ardhamandapa* added to it longitudinally against the entrance in an axial plan. This frontal adjunct is provided with two closely superimposed roofs, the upper one with a ridge and gable front. Here again the roof over the temple as well as the *ardhamandapa* was just adequate to deal with the problem of protection against the rains.

It is interesting to note that the temples in the Himalayan belt in Uttar Pradesh in India, namely, at Kedarnath, Badrinath, Chamba (Himachal Pradesh) or in the Almora District of Uttar Pradesh are provided with wooden contraptions in the form of one or two wooden roofs to take care of the problem of snows, even though the temples, themselves built of stone, are in the *śikhara* style. This is after all the local

¹H. Cousens has briefly described and illustrated some of the sloping or multiple-roofed temples in the Kanarese country in the *Chalukyan Architecture*, 1962. These comprise the Khetpai Narayana Sontappa Nayaka Tirumal, Chandranatha and Sankara-Narayana temples, respectively. He says (pp. 134-35): "With the excessive rainfall in Kanara it was, no doubt, found that the temple with the type of roof—in fact they would be veritable sieves—and so it was necessary to devise a more suitable arrangement. The depth to which the eaves project over the sides and the screens support this assumption.... There is a great likeness between these buildings and similar ones, built in wood for the most part found in Nepal. It is not likely, however, that there is any other connection between them than that the same conditions brought about the same type of architecture". (Italics mine).

²Fergusson, *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 286-87, fig. 161, citing the report of W. Simpson, in his 'Architecture in the Himalayas,' *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, Session 1882-83, pp. 65 ff.

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answer to the challenge of nature and even so it recalls the more elaborate multiple roofed temples of Nepal.¹

By and large, therefore, the evidence of the earliest occurrence of the comparable style in India dates from about the same time as the earliest evidence, presently only circumstantial, of the style in Nepal. The directional trend of the style, therefore, from one region to the other cannot be worked out on the present showing.

Percy Brown has indicated that the presence of these so-called pagoda style structures in Nepal comparable to the temples in Kerala may be accounted for by the often propounded theory of racial and cultural connexion between the Nayars of Kerala and the Newars of Nepal.² But the speakers of the monosyllabic Newari language came into prominence in Nepal only about A.D. 1400 during the rule of the Jayasthitimalla of the Malla dynasty, and they could not possibly have played any major part in the cultural life of Nepal before this date.

As the tentative theory underlying this proposition would indicate a directional trend of cultural and architectural ties from Kerala to Nepal, the absence of the evidence of any exodus from that region or of any intermediate stations or pockets of the Nayars in the ancient or mediaeval times, or of any comparable structures in the vast expanse between Kerala and Nepal except in the outlying fringes would be a contra-indication. Nevertheless, the singular fact of a Karnataka dynasty having ruled in the southern part of Nepal or on the southern border with their headquarters

¹H. Goetz (*The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba*, 1955, p. 63) offers the following opinion on the evolution of the multiple-roofed style of temples: "Generally the characteristic temple tower of some Kulu temples, with three successive roofs, is believed to have been imported from Nepal where it is common even today. But as Nepalese sculpture is so strongly indebted to the Harshavardhana tradition, the question arises whether the pagoda tower also did not come from the Indian plains, and from there was introduced both into Nepal and Kulu in the course of the seventh century". This view deserves serious consideration in the context of the evidence adduced by S.K. Saraswati (see page 82 ante) which has been examined again in the concluding chapter.

²Brown (*op. cit.*, p. 132) says "One theory is that there is a presumed anthropological connection between the Nayars of Malabar and the Newars of Nepal, while another accounts for the pagoda like attribution by a contact with China by sea as proved by the Chinese type of fishing nets used on this coast". Gopal Singh Nepali subscribes to the view that the Newars hailed from Kerala, and are connected with the Nayars. See *The Newars*, 1965, pp. 28-29. In fact, divergent views have been expressed about their origin. Christoph von Fuehrer-Haimendorf believes that they were the original dwellers of the valley. See also Haimendorf 'Elements of Newar Social Culture', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society* (London, 1956), Vol. 86, Part II, pp. 15-38. Sylvain Levi thought that they came from beyond the Himalayas. See Levi, *Le Nepal*. The fact that they have Mongoloid physical features and speak basically a Tibeto-Burman language point indeed to the northern regions as their springboard. But their adoption of the Brahmanical culture and religion and the *Devanāgarī* script for their language introduce some complications as to their origins. At the same time, the fact that the earliest traces of their language do not occur earlier than the fourteenth century and the absence of any influence on the other languages of the region do not suggest a long ancestry at least in the present stage of research.

at Simraongarh for a period of 226 years from A.D. 1097 onwards, till A.D. 1324, beginning with Nanyadeva¹ and of having contributed a descendant, namely, princess Rajalla Devi in marriage to a Malla prince Jayasthitimalla, who ruled in the Kathmandu valley from A.D. 1380 to 1394, would perhaps account for much of the cultural cohesion that is apparent between the Houses of Karnataka and Nepal, respectively. As the rulers of the Karnataka house lived on the border of Nepal, often in contact, long before the merger of the House into the ruling dynasty of the then Nepal, it is more likely for the former to have imported ideas from their distant home in Karnataka and transmitted them to Nepal rather than have introduced a reverse movement. The absence of any specimens of Nepalese architecture in the borderland or anywhere else in the intermediate regions would explain this phenomenon. The rule of the Senas (again a Karnataka dynasty in Bengal) and the infiltration of the Senas as ruling dynasties in Mackwanpur, and Tansen in the body of Nepal in the mediaeval times, until their discomfiture at the hands of the Gorkhas, would account for sustained contacts with Karnataka and with Rajasthan.

If the multiple-roofed temple had existed in Nepal from the times before the advent of the Karnataka dynasty upon the scene, its continuance and exuberance can indeed be traced, at least partially, to the ideas of rejuvenation conveyed by the Karnataka house. The contacts with Karnataka continued through the centuries as indicated above. The priests of the Paśupati temple² came as a rule from the south of the Narmada, and many of them were from Karnataka and even king Pratapamalla; in the 17th century, took a wife from Karnataka,³ obviously in the wake of a predilection in favour of people hailing from that region. Besides, there were many Brahmins and camp followers who came in their wake into Nepal from the region of Karnataka and settled down in the mountain country. It has, therefore, to be considered if the multiple-roofed temples of Kerala and Karnataka or the other parts of India have had any genetic connexion with the multiple-roofed temples of Nepal (fig. 4).

(iii) *The Chinese Evidence*

On the other hand it has been admitted that the idea of the storied pagoda was known to China as early as A.D. 450 or 500, as is evident from the reliefs in Yunkang

¹L. Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal*, Rome, 1958, pp. 51-54.

²Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 167: "Jayayakshamalla's most important action in the field of religion was his entrusting the guardianship of the national shrine of Pasupati Nath to the Bhatta Brahmins from southern India, with whom it has remained to the present day".

³*Abhilekha Samgraha*, Part III, p. 13, namely, Lalmati Devi.

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and Lungmen.¹ This would lend support to the literary evidence of the existence of multi-storied wooden pagodas in China from about the same period or a little earlier. It is, however, claimed by Will Durant² that "the oldest standing pagoda is at Sung Yuehssu built in A.D. 523 on the sacred mountain of Sung Shan in Honan".

It is not apparent, however, if China exercised any influence about this time upon Nepal to be able to impose her architectural style alone from among her variegated cultural traits upon the country.³

It is well known that China imbibed her Buddhism from across Central Asia in the 1st century A.D.⁴ The Chinese pilgrims Fahien and Yuan Chwang, who made an extensive tour of Buddhist and other sites in India and even of Nepal in the 4th and 7th centuries respectively, had both chosen the route across Central Asia and Afghanistan both on their outward and return journeys, for obvious reasons of the difficult nature of the passes across the Himalayas into Nepal, and consequently of the obvious paucity of intercourse between China, or Tibet for that matter, on the one hand and Nepal on the other till as late as the 7th century A.D. precluding the exchange of any major cultural traits such as architecture.

It is, however, known that there was close contact between Nepal and Tibet as early as the 6th century A.D., and it implied movement of men and ideas to and from then on. The Lagantol (Kathmandu) inscription of Jayadeva of the year 119 (*i.e.*, A.D. 714) mentions the enforcement of forced labour for carrying goods of merchants to Tibet.⁵ This indicates the continuity of the contacts that had been established with Tibet. That China had some say even then in the matter of the external

¹In fact, the multiple roofed style of structure was known to China in the period between *circa* 200 B.C. and A.D. 200, during the Han period. There are unmistakable evidence of China's adequate practical experience of this style of architecture in the terracotta models interred as grave furniture in the tombs of the period. A most remarkable example of such buildings is preserved in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Atkins Museum, Kansas City, U.S.A. (fig. 5) See plate on p. 83 of *The Art of China* by Werner Speiser, New York, 1960-66. The example shows an oblong structure with three roofs erected over three floors, and the flattish sloping roofs are distinguished by ridges in the corners and over each facet indicating the joints of the segments used in roofing the structures, and is reminiscent of the metalled roofs of Nepalese temples. Brackets in the corners support the supervening eaves of the roofs. Yet another example is published in pl. 28 of "*Art of China, Korea and Japan*" by Peter C. Swann, New York, 1963 (fig. 6) See also p. 41 wherein the following is significant. "The style of such towers as this mentioned in the classics as belonging to the Dukes along with hunting parks and lakes is one possible prototype for pagodas."

²Will Durant, *The Story of Civilization* (Our Oriental Heritage), 1942, p. 742; Dietrich Sockel, *The Art of Buddhism* (Art of the World), 1944, p. 115. The monument in question is an octagonal brick-built structure, broken up horizontally into 15 storeys by projecting ridges (not roofs). See P. Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu), p. 183 and pl. CLIX.

³In fact Japan seems to have imbibed this style from China, by employing Chinese craftsmen for the purpose. Werner Speiser, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

⁴P. Banerjee, *The Way of the Buddha*, New Delhi, 1956, p. 321.

⁵R. Gnoli, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

contracts of Tibet and Nepal is indicated by the combined message sent by Yasovarman and Lalitaditya (A.D. 736-47) to the Chinese emperor about the closure of all the routes from Tibet to India.¹ It should, therefore, have been possible for cultural contacts to be established between Tibet and Nepal, as well as China and Nepal at this date, though it was obviously beset with difficulties. The absence of any evidence of comparable architectural remains in the intermediate region, of this date or even considerably later, between Nepal and China is, however, a contra-indication of any architectural inspiration emanating from either direction.

The evidence of the admiration of the Chinese representative for the seven-storeyed palace or adjoining tower of the times of Narendradeva referred to earlier, is often quoted in support of the uniqueness of the multiple roofed style of temples in Nepal at the time. The admiration seems to have referred to the size, embellishments and grandeur of the edifice rather than the roofs alone specifically. It can scarcely be interpreted as an appreciation for the multiple-roofed style of architecture, which is rather complicated though not practicable to employ in any residential architecture. The improbability of the popular interpretation is further indicated by the traditional style of common man's houses, as well as palaces, in Nepal being built in the form of multiple storied structures around a central court, square or rectangular on plan, but in every case *without multiple roofs*, except, if at all, for towers, if any. The multiple roofs exist only in the case of temples or shrines in contrast. Moreover, the exclamation of the Chinese visitor that he had not seen anything like it before would go against the spirit of the acceptedly prior existence of multiple-roofed and storied temples in China, if it were to envisage only the multiple-roofed aspect of any structure in Nepal.

In this context it would be interesting to consider the views of M. Sullivan in *An Introduction to Chinese Art*, London, 1961, p. 106 :

"The monk Sung Yun returning from *Gandhara* early in the sixth century, had described (as doubtless many before him) the gigantic *stūpa* erected by king Kanishka, one of the wonders of the world. Built in timber, it was no less than seven hundred feet high in thirteen storeys, capped by a mast with thirteen golden discs. The Chinese already possessed in the towers called *lou* and *Chunch* multi-storey timber building which could be adapted to this new purpose. The Chinese examples of this period have all perished, but the pagodas at Horyuji and Yakushiji near Nara in Japan still stand as monuments to this simple, graceful style. The earliest surviving pagoda on Chinese soil, however is the twelve-sided stone tower on Mount Sung in Honan, erected in 520. It has no Chinese antecedents. Its profile echoes the curve of the Indian *śikhara* tower; the arched recesses on the main faces recall the niches on the great *stūpa* at Bodh Gaya, and as Soper has observed many of the details are purely Indian. But gradually the Indian elements were absorbed, and the later stone and brick pagodas will imitate, in their surface treatment, the posts, brackets and projecting roofs of their Chinese timber prototypes".

¹H. Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

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The evidence of the Nepalese sculptor and master craftsman, Arniko,¹ having been invited by the then Mongol ruler of China, namely, Kublai Khan in A.D. 1280 for executing exquisite works of art in China, and of the latter having accepted the honour as this event had taken place towards the end of the 13th century². Besides, Arniko was a sculptor not an architect.

(iv) Conclusion

The main interest of the Nepalese style of temple architecture consists in the combination of the multiple plinths and the multiple roofs. The idea of the evolution of multiple plinths has been dealt with below in the chapter on Eḍūka temples. Literally the conception can be traced to the multiple plinthed ziggurats of ancient Sumer. Nearer home the idea is to be found in the multiple bases of the *stūpas* and *chaityas* of the Kushanas in the Gandhara region (now in Pakistan) and in the other parts of the Kushana empire, and it may safely be concluded that the idea may have been transmitted to the solid monolithic *chaityas* of Nepal by the same source.³

The adoption of the style in structural architecture arose out of practical necessity and considerations of health and hygiene and proportions as indicated earlier. The close contact between the Lichchhavis of Nepal and Guptas of Magadha may have helped to clinch the issue. This is particularly indicated by the impressive evidence of the remains of at least two large brick-built and five-storied bases of temples (pls. LXV-LXVII) at the well known site of Ahichchhatra, in District Bareilly, Uttar Pradesh, dating back to about the 5th century A.D.

¹Petech, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-101. Arniko was born in A.D. 1245 and died in A.D. 1306.

²In this context the views of Percy Brown on the subject may be stated below, *op. cit.*, p. 163 : "...the structures of Nepal notably those of a sectarian ascription fall into two categories, those of the "*sikhara*" variety clearly derived from the style of temple favoured in India, and those of the multiple roof design associated with the pagodas of China...". It is not clear, however, if the multiple-roofed temples of Nepal were derived directly from the pagodas of China in the absense of probable interconnection.

³Snellgrove (*op. cit.*, IX, p. 107) seems to suggest that the plinths, or platforms, as he calls them, were erected only for the great gods. This is again a gratuitous suggestion which cannot be sustained. The Paśupati temple at Kathmandu has one platform and so has the Bhimsena temple at Patan. To quote Snellgrove, "The large and impressive temple of Bhimasena at the northern end of the Patan Durbar Square has no platform *perhaps because he is not a great god*" (italics mine).

H. Goetz (*The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba*, 1955, p. 63) says that "the oldest example of the pagoda type was Kanishka's stūpa at Shahji-ki-Dheri near Peshawar, (2nd century)". Though the *stūpa* has been described as a pagoda, it had 25 discs which should have stood for the stories of the superstructure and five plinths, forming the concentric multiple bases. This is an example of much earlier date than the known date of the earliest emergence of the so-called pagoda style of temples in Nepal.

As to when the multiple roofs were devised or got incorporated with the terraced temple form in Nepal,¹ the evidence is not clear. Balakrishna Sama has expressed the view that this distinctive roof form dates from the Vedic times.² He has traced its evolution from a pavilion for the Vedic sacrifices to serve as *yajñaśālā* or *yajña mandapa*³ wherein sacrificial fires had to be lit. To meet the needs of allowing the smokes to escape, the height of the roof was gradually raised by stages and provided with openings at the sides for the gases to find an exit. At the same time, the *mandapa* had to be covered to protect the fires and worshippers from the rains. He has also suggested that the style should be called the *mandapa* style, though as has been indicated, the style may perhaps be called the *devala* style in view of the name given to the temples of the mediaeval period in the inscriptions of Nepal.

¹Snellgrove (*op. cit.*, IX, p. 102) of the view that these "are survivals of an Indian style, long since discontinued in the land of its origin", and again (p. 103) "the pagoda which survives in Nepal from a lost Indian prototype". There is some evidence to prove that there were prototypes in India prior to the emergence of the style in Nepal, but it cannot be asserted that the extant ones in Nepal are survivals of the lost prototype. Regardless of the absence of the implied style of architecture in the contiguous or intermediate regions, or in any regions except either the coastal with heavy rainfall, or the Himalayan belt with both rain and snow, the regional peculiarities and differences of the style would not deprecate the idea of a common origin from India. These aspects of the subject have already been discussed in detail.

²Balakrishna Sama, '*Nepālī Mandapa-Śailiko Utpatti ra Vikās*', *Nepālī Lalit Kalā*, Annual No. 2023; pp. 9-12.) In this context [it would be interesting to consider the view of Coomaraswamy (*op. cit.*, p. 147) that "these edifices preserve the elements of much older styles, of which the monuments are no longer preserved in India; they illustrate too a halfway stage between Indian prototypes and Chinese derivatives". The opinion of Percy Brown (*op. cit.*, p. 162) on the same subject is of topical interest. To quote his words, "In the sphere of architecture, Nepal illustrates with marked significance, the impact of two of the most forceful civilizations in the East, that of India on the one hand, and of China on the other, the two meeting within the region of Nepal's mountainous border". Though the two views are identical, proof is lacking to illustrate the contacts with China though the connections with Indian architectural prototypes are fairly obvious.

³See Agarwala, *Indian Art*, Varanasi, 1965, pp. 40-45. The original *agniśālā* which formed part of the palace was later on called the *devagriha*. In its original form it must have been built of wooden pillars, so inferred from the use of the word *skambha*, meaning pillars in the *Rigveda*, and a big pillar was called *mahat-skambha* (*Rv.* VI, 47.5). The roof was obviously of thatch (straw), laid in several layers on a bamboo framework called *āyāma*, supported over a ridge called *vishuvat* (later *baladaṇḍa*), indicating the sloping sides, held in place by means of ropes. The openings at the joints between the *āyāma* and the *vishuvat* (*baladaṇḍa*) were called *aksha* (eye) in Vedic literature, or *dhūmanetta* (or the outlets for smoke) in later Pali literature. These were covered with pots placed in a row to prevent rains from falling inside. In course of time a single such pot came to be called the *kalasa*, in which all the lines converged.

It became the *pūrṇaghaṭa*, called *kalasa* with the complex of *pallavas* (leaves) and *vījīpūraka* in a logical culmination, as the finial of Brahmanical temples placed over the *āmalaka-śilā*. See P.K. Agrawala, *Pūrṇa Kalasa or the Vase of Plenty*, Varanasi, 1965, p. 28.

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At the same time it may be stated that the surmised evolutionary trend indicated by Sama for the multiple-roofed form is at once interesting and attractive, but archaeological proof, as emphasized by Sama himself, is as yet lacking.

The literary and inscriptional records of the late mediaeval times in Nepal describe the style as *devala*, as contrasted to the *granthakūṭa* style. A *Thysaphu* describes that Bhaskaramalladeva replaced the *granthakūṭa* temple of Vajrayogini at Sankhu into a three-roofed *devala* temple.¹

It is now customary to call temples in Nepal as *devala*,² and its origin must, therefore, be traced back to earliest effort at the change of style in response to the demands of the terrain and climate.

¹The *Thyasaphu* dated N.S. 832 (A.D. 1711) mentions this fact. See *Purnima*, Kathmandu, No. 12, p. 83. The brief Newari document of the *Thyasaphu* is explained in detail in *Purnima*, No. 16, pp. 378-79. The words used for the three-storied temple are *svatapali devara*. The *granthakūṭa* style representing the *śikhara* style of temple is also mentioned in the inscription of Purandarasiṃha dated N.S. 710=A.D. 1589. See *Purnima*, No. 16, p. 379.

For the inscription itself see Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 36-7 : The relevant words (in Newari) of the inscription are as follows :

“Śrī Śrī Purandarasiṃha deva thākurasanam dadā
Narasimhaju paraloka vijyāṅgā,
thosate nimittanam
devala granthakūṭa dayakam
Narasimhamūrti pratimā
sthāpanāyāṅgā...”

It means that Purandarasiṃha, on the expiry of his elder brother Narasiṃha, built a *granthakūṭa* temple for him and installed therein an image of Narasiṃha.

It would appear reasonable to explain *granthakūṭa*, as a temple style in which the *śālās* or *kūṭas* were a composite kind, in which several roofs or roofed structures were combined, and in the light of the existing evidence it could be only in the vertical order. This would explain the *śikhara* shrines, which consisted of several courses linked or threaded together and would clearly point to the *śikhara* shrine.

²Snellgrove (*op. cit.*, IX, p. 102) says :

“We continue to call tiered temples pagodas, but no equivalent Nepalese term exists, and we are not even sure of the origin of the term”.

A modern author has chosen to designate this style of temple architecture in Nepal as the *Nepāla* style. Please see Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, II, pp. 871 ff.

This would mean that the *nāgara* style along with its own distinctive features that emerged on the soil and continued to exist side by side with the *devala* style of architecture in the country is not entitled to be called as of Nepal or bear the significant nomenclature of the *Nepāla* style. This viewpoint and nomenclature if applied to the *devala* style only, in view of its obviously exclusive sting implied in it, being contrary to the evidence from elsewhere, cannot be upheld academically.

Balakrishna Sama has sought to call it the *maṇḍapa* style, but the name had not apparently found favour with the builders themselves, who preferred the name of *devala* instead, in spite of the

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3. MISCELLANEOUS ASPECTS OF NEPALESE TEMPLES AS REVEALED BY INSCRIPTIONAL RECORDS

(i) *Texts or Authorities Cited*

The study of the inscriptions of the mediaeval kings of Nepal throws a good deal of light on different interesting aspects of the temple architecture of Nepal. The temples are variously stated to be erected according to the principles laid down in the *Vedas*¹ or *Āgamas*² or the *Vishṇudharmottara*³ or *Śruti* or *Smṛiti*⁴ or simply the *Śāstras*⁵ as the case may be.⁶

A temple of Viṣṇu in Lubhu, near Patan, built in N.S. 572, i.e., A.D. 1451, is stated to have been erected according to the Vedic principles (*Vedoktavidhinā*).¹

(ii) *The Process of Construction*

From the procedure adopted for the construction and consecration of the Viṣṇu temple at Lubhu⁷ in N.S. 572, i.e., A.D. 1451 as described in the inscription it can be

overwhelming evidence of the name of *Kāshṭhamaṇḍapa* in Kathmandu and much less so of the *Maṇimaṇḍapa*, which was not a temple at all, in Patan. It is, therefore, suggested in deference to the thought processes of the builders, donors and rulers of the past to designate this style as the *devāla* style. The idea was first mooted by the author in the *Nepalese Art*, Kathmandu, 1966, on the inner face of the rear cover.

¹Regmi, *op. cit.*, III, p. 69. The Lubhu stone slab inscription of the Narayana temple mentions "*Vedoktavidhinā*".

²Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 11-13. The Āgama Devatā temple at Taumadhitol at Bhaktapur was built according to the principle of the *Āgamas*. The words used are "*Āgamoktavidhānena pratishṭhā kriyate mudā*".

³The Ādi-Nārāyaṇa temple at Patan, of the year 689 N.S. is described to have been built according to the principle laid down in the *Vishṇudharmottara* (Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 26).

⁴The word *Śrutividhāna* also occurs in the same inscription cited earlier. The use of the principles of *Śruti* and *Smṛiti*, respectively, are referred to also the Krishna temple stone slab inscription of the year 769, i.e., A.D. 1648 at Hanuman Dhoka. See Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 87.

⁵The repairs to the Tukathe Vihāra at Bhaktapur were carried out according to the *Śāstras*. See Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 161-62.

⁶Snellgrove, in the face of the evidence of the texts or principles of construction or consecration mentioned in the inscriptions which have been cited above, expresses the view: "Like the Pagoda temples, these stone and brick temples are constructed on the *maṇḍala* principle (if one may now be permitted to use this term) with entrances and porticos to all the four-directions" (*op. cit.*, p. 112). The basic principle of temple construction as well as the sequence of evolution suggested herein are at best assumptions. The *maṇḍala* conception has also been readily adopted by Ronald M. Bernier in his later interpretation of the symbolism and significance of the Nepalese temple form in the book *The Nepalese Pagoda*, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 117-27.

⁷The word *pāda* meaning the foot would relate *prima facie* to the plinth. But as it would be illogical to install the deity in the open, it has to be deduced that the initial and basal chamber was also completed and the deity was installed in it. The word *pāda* of the inscriptions would, therefore,

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deducted that the general practice may have been to install the deity (image) when the lowest part (*pāda*) of the edifices, consisting inferably of the plinth and the supervening *sanctum sanctorum*, was completed. Thereafter the ritual of *vanayātrā* or visit to the forest was undertaken obviously for the purpose of gathering suitable timber for the construction of the superstructure.

The door was added after the installation of the deity. The superstructure, called *chulikā*, was added thereafter and it was followed by the placement of the finial complex collectively called the *gajura*, and finally by the erection of the flag (*dhvaja*) and flagstaff over the *gajura*. The entire process was spread over a span of seven years in the case in point. The erection of a temple at Taumadhitol, Bhaktapur, in N.S. 530, i.e., A.D. 1409, is said to have been done according to the principles laid down in the *Āgamas* (*Āgamoktavidhinā*)¹ and the temple itself is called *Āgama Devatā* today.

The erection of a temple of Adi-Narayana, somewhere in Patan is stated to have been carried out according to the *Vishṇudharmottara*.

The purpose of the construction and consecration of a temple has been mentioned in several inscriptions. One such example is in the Bhaktapur Bhavānī-Śaṅkara temple stone slab inscription of the year 787, i.e., A.D. 1656, of the time of Jagatprakasamalla.² In the inscriptional records associated with the original construction of a temple or edifice the kings or donors laid down their instructions, and enjoined upon their successors strict compliance with their directions, pronouncing the curse of the gods upon all those who violated the terms and stipulations of the endowments and

mean the vertical part comprising the plinth and the *sanctum sanctorum*. It would, however, be tempting to deduce, in view of the celebration of the *vanayātrā* after the installation of the deity on the plinth, that the founders probably did not wait for the construction of the *sanctum*, which, being the basal chamber, needed wood also for its own stability as well as for the superstructure. The installation of the door after the installation of the deity points to such a possibility.

¹The stone slab on which this inscription is carved is now lodged in the National Museum at Kathmandu. The relevant part of the inscription (See Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 26) is as follows :

Muniganaviniyuktairvishṇudharmottaroktairvihitasmṛiti vidhānaihdvādaśāham nināya dvijagaṇa-śruti pāṭhairlakshahomamcha kritvā nripatikritapratishṭhāmādi-Nārāyaṇasya

²*Abhilekha Saṁgraha*, No. 7, p. 23. The relevant portion of the inscription runs as follows :

"Ithāyurōgyasaptāṅga rājyalakshmī vṛddhirastu || Paratra Svarganivāso bhavatu| yaḥ prāsādam rachayati pumān devatānām prayatnāt kīrtistasya bhramati vipula vaṁśamārganuyāte || Divyam-llokān bhramati cha sadā kālataśchāprameyamstāṁstāṁ bhuktvā punarapi bhavet chakravartī prithivyām ||

It means that the construction of the temple by a king would lead to long life and freedom from disease on earth and sevenfold increase of royal prosperity. It also leads to residence in heaven at the end of the earthly life. Whoever builds a temple with care enjoys enormous glory in keeping with the family tradition that wanders into the heavenly worlds as well. Having enjoyed immeasurable lengths of time in heavens such a person is reborn as an emperor on earth.

failed to carry out the desired works of repairs called *khaṇḍaphuṭṭa-pratisaṃskāra* or *īrṇṇoddhāra* as the case may be, from the days of the Lichchhavis.

One of the earliest endowments and provisions for the repairs etc. to temples were recorded in the stone slab inscription of Ābhīrī, dated Samvat 482 or A.D. 540, located to the south of the Paśupati temple at Kathmandu commemorating the erection of the temple of *Anuparameśvara*.¹

The endowment of two pieces of land gifted by the donor, Ābhīrī, in the *Timpagrāma*, was to cover the repairs to the temple of Anuparameśvara Śiva founded by her as well as provided endlessly for the supply of clothes and ornaments for the god, as well for the daily bath, offer of worship, burning of incense and offer of sacrifices. The purpose of the endowment was for the achievement of the glory of the deceased husband and for the continuity of enjoyment of bliss, cure of ills, or freedom from diseases, and long life for the living children including Bhaumagupta etc. For repairs to the temple the words used are *khaṇḍaphuṭṭa-pratisaṃskāra* in the third line.

Apart from the words mentioned above, we also come across such expressions as ‘*akāri sphuṭanūtanam*’² in respect of the *Maṇimaṇḍapa* at the Patan Durbar Square.

The renovation of a Viṣṇu temple (N.S. 637 or A.D. 1516) at Bhaktapur is described in incorrect language as : *Viṣṇu ganthitam navaskrita sthāpitaḥ* indicating the reconstruction of a *granthita śikhara* shrine.³

Yet another instance of repairs carried out to a temple and endowments founded for repairs in future is provided by the 7th century Patan Sundhara stone slab inscription of the year 34.⁴

¹R. Gnoli, *op. cit.*, XVI, p. 23.

The relevant part of the inscription runs as follows :

Line 2 : *Putrenānujñātā chakāra saṃsthāpanam śambhoḥ ||*
datvā chākshayanīvīm vapraparichehhadavibhūshādīn |
Anuparameśvarasaṃjñāñha śambhor bhuvanamahitasyāsyā ||

Line 3 : *Bhagavate devadevāyasmai svayaṃ pratishṭhāpitāyānuparameśvarasaṃjñitāyābhyaṅgasnapanār-*
chchanāgandhadhūpa balinivedanādipravarttanārtham khaṇḍaphuṭṭapratisaṃs |

Line 4 : *kārārthañcha patidevapunyaḥbhīribhaginyāpattaye tridivasthāya puṇyāpyāyanārtham āyushmatāñ-*
chāpatyānām Bhaumaguptādīnām bhogārogyāyuranantyāvāptaye |

²Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV p. 235.

³Regmi, *op. cit.*, III, p. 105.

⁴R. Gnoli, *op. cit.*, p. 53. The relevant part of the inscription runs as follows :

Line 5 : *Mātiṇdevakulamardhavinipatitesṭakā pañktivivarapraviṣṭa |*

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Briefly summarised it means that after the repairs to the half-fallen temple of *Māṭiṅgrāma* an endowment was created for repairs to it in perpetuity, and it was transmitted also to posterity as a bounden responsibility.

Numerous instances of the endowments for the conduct of worship and for the repairs to the temple can be cited. The record of the stone slab on the wall of a Bhagavatī temple at Kvachchhe, Bhatgaon, of the year 854 N.S. (A.D. 1733) is very clear.¹

It means that king Ranajitamalla endowed five *ropanis* of land to finance the annual conduct of worship and the repairs to the temple and the reinstallation of the deity, in perpetuity, for the sake of the grace of the goddess.

(iii) *The Process of Repairs and Reconstructions*

As will be clear from the description given above, from the very beginning, the kings of Nepal carefully made elaborate arrangements and endowments for the repairs and reconstruction of temples and other specimens of architecture erected by them. The subject has been dealt with in detail in chapter VIII below.

The purpose of repairs and reconstruction is similar to that of the construction in the first instance. One such example is provided by the Paśupati temple inscription of Ābhiri of the year 462 or A.D. 540., mentioned earlier. The benefits of repairs enumerated in the inscription include religious merit, enjoyment of earthly life, freedom from disease enjoyment of long life and residence in heaven after death, etc. At the same time curses are pronounced upon any one who tampers with the religious endowments, and blessings are pronounced upon the donors.

- Line 6 : *nakulakuḷākulitamūshikā sārtha dūravighaṭita nirava*
 Line 7 : *śeṣha dvārakavāṭa vātāyanādi jīrṇa dārusaṅghātaṃ yatnataḥ*
 Line 8 : *pratisaṃskārya tasya dīrghatarapaśchātkāla sausthityanimittaṃ*
 Line 9 : *taḍakshayanīvi-pratibaddhameyaṃ evaṃ māṭiṅgrāmasya dakṣiṇato rāja—*
 Line 10 : *bhogyatāmāpanaṃ viṃśatikayā chatuḥshashṭimānikāpiṇḍakāṃ*
 Line 11 : *kshetraṃ dakṣiṇa paschimatascha śaṇmānikāpiṇḍakam māṭiṅgrāmapā*
 Line 12 : *ñchālikebhyratipāditam evaṃvedibhir na kaiśchid asmatpāda*
 Line 13 : *pratibaddhbhājīvanair anyair vāyan dharmādhikaro nyathākaraṇīyo*
 Line 14 : *Yastvetāmājñām-ullaṅghyānyathā kuryāt kārayed vā taṃvayanna ma*
 Line 15 : *rshayishyāmo bhaviṣadbhirapi-bhūpatibhirdharmagurubhir-dharmā-*
 Line 16 : *dhikārapratipālanādratirbhavitavyaṃ.*

¹Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 295.

The inscription runs as follows :

RaṇajinnripālamukhoBhagavatīprītyai dadau kīrttimān bhūmiṃ pañchakaropaṇīm parimitām
pratyabdapūjāvidhau prāsādasya cha jīrṇa bhavyakaraṇe devyāstatasthāpanam|

Such blessings and curses are conveyed throughout history. One of the earliest instances in Nepal is the Changu Narayana inscription of Manadeva.¹

The donor of land for the maintenance of a temple enjoys sixty thousand years in heaven. On the contrary those who usurp such land or abet such action reside an equal number of years in hell.

The curse pronounced on those tampering with such endowments and its long tradition are indicated by two later instances as well, though separated by a wide gap of time, as cited below :²

The process and stages of construction were very much the same even in respect of a *vihāra* (monastery) and can, therefore, be regarded as characteristic of architecture in Nepal in general. The process of the construction of a *vihāra* is indicated by the example of the Otu Bahal at Kathmandu.³

The consecration of each stage of the process of construction was marked by due performance of *homa* (sacrifice) and *pūjā* (worship) even in respect of a Buddhist monastery or temple.

¹R. Gnoli, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

The relevant lines are cited below :

*Yasya yasya yadā bhūmistasya tasya tadā phalaṃ||
Shasṭhiṃ varshasahasrāṇi svarge modati bhūmidah||
Āksheptā chānumantā cha tāvanti narake vaset.*

²A copper plate attached to the Kāshṭhamaṇḍapa (Regmi, *op. cit.*, III, p. 86) points to the sins of tampering with an endowment as consisting of cow slaughter, slaughter of a Brahmana, child slaughter, slaughter of and assault on mother etc. This is dated N.S. 605, i.e., A.D. 1484.

A stone slab inscription of N.S. 852, (i.e., A.D. 1731) lying close to the temple of Chāmuṇḍā near Sankhamul, Patan (Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 293) reads as follows :

*Swadattāmparadattāṃ vā yo haredsuraviprayoḥ Shasṭhivarshasahasrāṇi viśṭhāyāṃ jāyate krimih||
Viṃsatyashṭau cha ya koṭyo narakānāṃ sudāruṇāḥ||
Krameṇa tāsu pachyante devabrahmasvahrīṇaḥ||*

It means whoever robs the endowments of the gods is born as the worm of human faeces for sixty thousand years. He rots in hell for 28 crores of years. This reflects the imprecation first seen in Nepal in Manadeva's Changu Narayana inscription.

³Regmi, *op. cit.*, p. 40 of the year N.S. 713, i.e., A.D. 1593. The following excerpts, often in incorrect language or spelling, from the stone slab inscription, are self-explanatory :

*Evamvihārasaṃsthāpitārthaṃ||
Prathamataṛaṃ bhūparīkshā krodhāgnipūjā kumārīarchanā mārīchirakshā śalyaparīkshā |
Bhūmiyāchanā, ekāśītikoshṭhaśṭha devatāpūjā yavakaropanaṃ jāṅgulipūjā kalaśādhivāsana kīlakā-
lopanaṃ sūtrapātana vāstuparīkshā sandhiparīkshā bhūmikhaṇḍa pādasthāpanaṃ paryantānāṃ
yathākṛiyāsaṃgraha śāstroktakarmaparipātena prithak prithak pūjahomādikaṃ kṛitvā asminjām-
vānandavamvihāraṃ pādasaṃsthāpitaṃ bhavatuḥ tadanantaraṃ vanayātrā dvārasthāpanaṃ stambha-
sthāpanaṃ gavākshasthāpanaṃ śīrodārusthāpanaṃ paryantānāṃ yathāvidhivatkarmanāṃ kṛitvā
varshaikena saṃpūrṇaṃ bhavatu|*

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The work of repairs were often entrusted to the *Pāñchālīka*¹ or a Project Officer (named Narahari in one case) as would be apparent from an inscription of the year 821 (N.S.) or A.D. 1700.²

The process generally followed for the repairs to a temple or a monastery can be inferred from the detailed description of the repairs carried out to the Tukathe Vihara at Bhaktapur in N.S. 794 i.e. A.D. 1673.³

The work began with the collection of splinters (*śalyoddharāṇa*) from the ruins of the structure, and it was followed in succession by the sanctification of the grounds (*bhūmi śodhana*), erection of the plinth and *sanctum sanctorum* (*pādasthāpanā*), by the hoisting in their places of the corner wooden pillars (*stambha*) and beams (*dharaṇikā*) and the fixation of doors and windows (*dvārādi* and *gavākshādi*), the hoisting and placing in position of the ridge beam (*śīrodāru*) over the topmost roof, the erection of the golden or gilt *kalasa* (*kanakakalasa*) as the finial, and the mounting of the series of umbrellas (*chhatra*) over it, and the placement alongside of the golden flag (*suvarṇa dhvaja*) belonging to the temple. The construction of the temple at different stages was always marked by the performance of proper sacrifices (*yajña*).

The Nepalese temples, being built largely of wood, have witnessed the usual ravages of time and have had to be frequently repaired or restored. Nor many of them retain their pristine features and materials intact, though there are some good examples of intact or nearly intact monuments here and there.

¹The *Pāñchālīkā* was like a municipal organization and is comparable to the *Grāma Pañchāyat* prevailing in Nepal today. The Sundhara inscription of the year 34 of Amsuvarman (i.e., A.D. 629 approximately), bears evidence of the repairs being entrusted to the *Pāñchālīkas*, vide the inscription in R. Gnoli, *op. cit.*, p. 53, which carries the line *Māṭiṅgrāma-Pañchālīkebhyo pratipāditaṁ*.

²Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 234-36.

The relevant part of the inscription indicating the existence of a Project Officer reads as follows :
*Yanniramāṇavidhau mahachchhramabhritādihikyodyamārambhakridvīrasyānucharo-Narendranripateḥ
 saṁgīta vidyānidheḥ/yasya prematamo varo Naraharirnāmā mahatsevako dasānām gaṇanāyakaḥ
 kshitipateḥ.*

It is in respect of the repairs of the *Maṇimaṇḍapa* in the Durbar Square at Patan.

³The details are described in the Thathu Bahal Bhaktapur Stone Slab inscription of the year 794 (A.D. 1673). See Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 161-62.

The relevant parts of the inscription, which is partly in incorrect Sanskrit and partly in Newari, are given below :

*Śāstroktā-vidhinānena-jirṇnodhārāṇa kārīte/
 Śalyoddhārādīkaṁ kuryyāt bhūmiśodhana sādhayat//
 Pādasthāpanā dvārādi dharaṇikādi vidhānataḥ/
 Gavākshatambha saṁsthāpya śīrodāru samantataḥ//
 Kanakakarasa śuddhaṁ dharmadhātusuramya/
 Kanakavitata...chhatrapushpāni tu//
 Atima sukha ..yajñasampūrṇa yukteti/
 suvarṇadhvajārohanayā-yāñgājuro//*

(iv) *The Architectural Terms Mentioned in the Inscriptions*

The mediaeval inscriptions of the Malla period have come up with a large ensemble of technical terms in respect of architecture. Temples are variously designated as *matha*, *devālaya*, *surālaya*, *devakula*, *mandira*, *vimāna*,¹ *prāsāda*, *devāgāra*, *devala*, *bhavana*, and *geha* etc. A stone built temple is called *pāshāṇa deyālaya*.

The inscriptions also contain several terms to denote the two principal architectural styles of temples, viz., the *śikhara* and *devala* styles, respectively. The words denoting the *śikhara* style comprise : (i) *Lakshmīvat*, (ii) *chaturāsra* (quadrangular), (iii) *ṣaḍaśra* (hexagonal) and the specific terms, (iv) *granthakūṭa* and (v) *merukūṭa*,² respectively, which have been dealt with earlier.

The words used for the multiple-roofed style of temple comprise : (i) *devala*, (ii) *prāsāda* with *pañcha patala* (five storeys), (iii) *tribhauman*, i.e., a temple with three storeys,³ (iv) *khaṇḍa* standing for a storey spoken in respect of a temple which had formerly only two storeys and a third *khaṇḍa* or storey that was added to it at a later stage.

The basal part of a temple, including the plinth and inferably also the *sanctum sanctorum* is called *pāda* or foot. The superstructure is called *chulikā*. The door panel is called *kavāṭa* or *kapāṭa* and the door itself simply the *dvāra*. The windows are called *gavāksha*, *vātāyana* or *jāla*. The last word seems to have given rise to the Nepalese word for window, namely, *jhyāla*. The wooden beams, rafters, and purlins are called *dharanikā* in the inscriptions. The pillars are called *stambha* or *śivaka*.⁴

¹The terms *vimāna* is used in respect of a temple of Krishna at Mahadeonanhi, Patan. See Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 82, of the year 763=A.D. 1642.

²The word *merukūṭa* is used in the Mahadeonanhi Krishna temple (Patan) stone slab inscription of the year 763 N.S. (i.e., A.D. 1642). See Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 81-82. The use of the word *vimāna* points significantly to close contacts and interaction with south India.

³Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 203-204. The inscription refers to the addition of a third storey to the brick temple of Gaṇeśa at Valakhu, Patan, in the following words :

Ishtīkābhīribaddhā bhūḥ...rājñāḥ...taḥ vabhūva devālaya...esha pūrvakhaṇḍadvayenāpi virājamānaḥ...midānī kriyātesmin trīṭīya-khaṇḍam namanīyamasya

⁴The use of pillars to support the superstructure both in the *śikhara* as well as *devala* styles is probably indicated by the word *śivaka-devakulam* used in the Thankot Adi Narayana temple stone slab inscription of the time of Vasantadeva (?). That the word *śivaka* stood for pillars to support the roof or superstructure is indicated clearly in the inscription of Rudradeva of the year 392 (i.e., A.D. 1271) wherein a pavilion is stated to have been erected over a *jaladroṇi* or *dhuṅgedhārā*, made of slabs supported on four pillars. The words used are '*Tatpatṭikā paṭalāchchhādanāya cha śivakachatusṭayam* (*Abhilekha Samgraha*, II, p. 13).

The pillars could be of stone as well as of wood, and while they formed the basic skeletal framework of the structures, they also formed an outer line on the lowest floor and enclosed a circumambulatory verandah as in the case of the stone-built Krishna Temple at Patan (1637).

The roofs are called *paṭala*.¹ As has been stated earlier, the temples have been compared to the *Meru* or mountains such as the *Mandara*, and have sometimes been shown to merge by stages with the celestial world.

One distinctive architectural feature of Nepal is the richly carved hemispherical tympanum poised over the entrance to shrines carrying also the *lalātabimba*. It is called *torana* in the inscriptions. The same word is in vogue in the parlance of the day.

4. LOOKING AHEAD

The complex of temple architecture in Nepal remains yet to be studied in detail as to plan, elevation, sections of the basic framework, the relationship between the number of plinths and the number of roofs, the proportions as to heights and widths of the various component parts, besides, of course the history of construction, periodical renovations and repairs and their place in the entire scheme of architecture and growth of today. It is only when such a study has been completed² that a basis will have been obtained for relating the individual specimens to the principles of architecture occasionally mentioned in the inscriptions and of evaluating the quality and excellence of Nepalese temple architecture as a whole. Though the few extant specimens of the *śikhara* style of temples present a variety in material, outline and details, the *devāla* style of temple is distinguished by a monotonous uniformity in general profile and material, barring the differences in the number of plinths or roofs, and the details of the carvings on the *tuṇāls* (brackets) and on the wooden inserts in the facade of the temples. Regardless of the stylistic uniformity of the *devāla* style of temples, the broken profile of the edifices provide a pleasing and variegated skyline in their varying heights, rising above the roofs of houses and structures that cluster thick in the towns or villages alike. The awaited studies, therefore, would provide the background for comparing the ensemble of Nepalese temple architecture with the corresponding or divergent architectural styles, as the case may be, of the neighbouring or distant countries. For the present, however, it may be stated provisionally that the phenomenon of the dovetailing of the multiple-roofed aspect of the temple architecture in Nepal with the multiple plinths may have evolved in the country independently in response to the

¹There is a reference to the construction of the Sarveśvara temple at Patan in the stone slab inscription associated with it with five *paṭalas* or roofs in the following words :

prāsādam sa chakāra pañchapāṭalaiḥ. See *Abhilekha Saṁgraha*, Vol. X, pp. 17-19.

²The following publications, brought out after the major part of the present text was written out (1972), by Ronald M. Bernier make an attempt to analyse the temple architecture of Nepal at some length. The views expressed therein have generally been covered in the discussions :

(1) *The Temples of Nepal*, Second Edition, New Delhi, 1978.
(2) *The Nepalese Pagoda* (Origins and Style), New Delhi, 1979.

actual requirements enforced by the climate and consideration of proportions. It was natural for this architectural style to have exercised some influence upon the architecture of the neighbouring countries as well as to have imbibed some influence from these countries as well. Both these aspects occur in various parts of India but seldom in combination as in Nepal. Therefore, the mechanism of the interaction which is apparent has to be studied objectively. The matter has been examined in detail in the concluding chapter (IX).

CHAPTER VII

EDŪKA (OR TERRACED) AND MULTIPLE-ROOFED TEMPLES OF NEPAL

1. INTRODUCTORY

The most distinctive style of temple architecture in Nepal is indeed represented by the multiple-roofed temples, often with multiple terraces, of which the one going by the name of Kāshṭhamaṇḍapa (pl.XXXIX), standing upon a single plinth, has imparted its name to the capital city of the mountain country. Corresponding to the multiple roofs over the *sanctum sanctorum* are often a series of concentric tiers or terraces forming multiple plinths upon which the temple stands. Neither the multiple roofs nor the multiple terraces can be without purpose or utility. Though the temples we are now considering are of very late date in the evolution of temple architecture in general, there can be no doubt that there must have been earlier prototypes, which the ravages of time and man have wiped out of existence. It would indeed be an interesting study to trace the origin of this particular style and its evolution over the centuries and expansion in space, taking in its stride the minutiae of local differences adapted to regional requirements and artistic and architectural tastes.

2. EDŪKA TEMPLES AT AHICHCHHATRA

The 1940-44 excavations at Ahichchhatra (in District Bareilly, Uttar Pradesh, India) by the Archaeological Survey of India brought to light, apart from the interesting sequence of cultures on the site, the unmistakable remains of two large terraced temples of bricks. Distinctive in character and unusually large in size, these temples have only been briefly mentioned in the comparatively meagre reports of the excavations that have been published so far. Nevertheless, the structural characteristics of these temples have been indicated by V.S. Agrawala, as of the *Edūka* style,¹ described in the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa*,² a treatise on architecture, painting and

¹V.S. Agrawala, 'Terracota figurines of Ahichchhatra, District Bareilly, U.P.', *Ancient India*, No. 4, p. 167.

²*Vishṇudharmottara*, III, LXXXIV, 1-4.

iconography, of the 5th-7th centuries A.D. The style apparently conforms to the architecture of the ziggurats of ancient Sumer, as suggested by Agrawala, though to trace a direct genetic or chronological connexion between the Sumerian specimens and the Indian prototypes would be difficult, at any rate on the present showing.

Agrawala also refers to the occurrence of the word *Edūka*, in the *Vana Parva* of the *Mahābhārata*,¹ including a variant in the form of *jāruka*, presuming that it was apparently a Sanskritized form of ziggurat with which the buildings seem to have had structural resemblance.

Regardless of the etymology of the word *Edūka*, the apparent resemblance alone of the temples in question to the ziggurats of ancient Sumer would not establish any genetic, not to speak of chronological, connexion between the Sumerian specimens and the Indian prototypes, if not derivatives, on the present evidence, though such an evolution is not to be ruled out.

3. LITERARY REFERENCES TO EDŪKA

The *Amarakosha*, which is dated early in the Gupta period, and was no doubt compiled during or after the reign of Chandragupta II, mentions *edūkaṁ* (2.2.4) in the sense of a wall containing bones in the following words :

“*Bhittiḥ strī kuḍyamedūkaṁ yadantarnyastakīkaṣaṁ*”

The word *kīkaṣaṁ* in the sense of bones is explained thus in the *Manushya-varga* : *Syāt kharparaḥ kapālo strī kīkaṣaṁ kulyamasthicha*.

4. EDŪKAS AND STŪPAS

Thus a sepulchral association of the structures called *Edūkas* is easily established, and this would point to the *stūpa* as a representative of the style. They have been held from the most ancient times as receptacles of the corporeal remains of the Buddha or Bodhisattvas, and later as objects of worship and veneration, i.e., in other words, a house of god or the godhead, or the temple. In the evolution of temple architecture the role of the *stūpa* is, therefore, significant.

But the circular tumulus has a history from still earlier times, as mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*² wherein the practice of the Easterners to raise a circular tumulus over the skeletal remains and to demarcate it with a circle of stones, conforming to what is known in archaeological parlance as the megalithic stone circle, which abound in different parts of India, has been amply described. The same *Brāhmaṇa* also recognizes a rectangular or four-cornered type of enclosure as well. In course of time the *stūpa* tumulus got encased in structural material like stone or brick, and was raised over a platform, forming a raised plinth or terrace. According to tradition, the eight original *stūpas* over the remains of Buddha were broken up by

¹Agrawala, *op. cit.*, f.n. 4.

²*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII, 8, 1, 4); D.N. Shukla, *Vāstu Śāstra*, I, Chandigarh, 1960, p. 71.

Asoka¹ and he is credited with the raising of 84,000 *stūpas* all over the country, besides repairing the original *stūpas*. He must, therefore, be regarded as the one who popularized the cult of the *stūpa*. At some stage, the worship of a non-sepulchral votive and miniature *stūpa*, of structural form, known as the *chaitya* came into vogue. The miniature form of the *chaitya* paved the *Bodhighara* or *Bodhigriha* of course through an intermediate stage of the rock-cut caves, with a solid *stūpa-chaitya* in it, of which several types, viz., circular, elliptical, oblong, quadrilateral and octagonal, respectively, have been recognized.²

Coomaraswamy³ lends support to the interpretation of the *chaitya* as a Buddhist and Jaina *stūpa* or as a funeral mound to honour heroes, or a shrine or temple, since it is described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as having railings (*vedikā*), terraces, stairs and a high roof and an *āyatana* (*sanctum*).

The idea intended to be conveyed in the foregoing lines is to indicate the possible evolution of the temple form from an *Edūka* or *stūpa* to the structural temple. Prakrit literature recognizes the word *eluge* or *eluya*, which has been explained as a threshold or a monument for containing the ashes of a dead person.⁴ The sepulchral content of the *Edūka* indicated by the *Amarakosha* has been supported by several other writers of antiquity.

The commendation by the *Vishṇudharmottara* of the *Aidūka* worship, despite the obvious significance of the structural form with its contents of polluting skeletal remains, contrasts, therefore, with the disparagement by the *Mahābhārata* of the worship of the *Edūkas* as contained in the following verses 65-67 of the Vana Parva (Adhyaya 190)⁵ :

*Edūkān pūjayishyanti varjayishyanti devatāḥ/
Sūdrāscha prabhaviṣhyanti na dvijāḥ yugasamkshaye||65
Āśrameshu Maharshinām Brāhmaṇāvasatheshu cha/
Devasthāneshu chaityeshu Nāgānāmālāveshu cha||66
Edūkachihñā prithivī na devagrihabhūshitā||67*

This can perhaps be construed to mean the indirect disapprobation by the *Mahābhārata* of the cult Buddhism in the country.

¹There is a direct reference to Asoka's role in it in the Ahraura Minor Rock Edict I of Asoka, where the placing of the bodily relics of the Buddha on a platform for worship is mentioned. See D.C. Sircar, *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXVI, pp. 239 ff.

²H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, Delhi, 1966, pp. 1-44.

³A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 1927, pp. 47-48; H. Sarkar, *op. cit.*

⁴P. Shah, *Vishṇudharmottara*, II, p. 173.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 171.

Fortunately, however, the fears of the *Mahābhārata* were not justified, for other forms of Brahmanical temple structure, free from the polluting aspect of bones, notwithstanding the warning of the *Mahābhārata*, came up all over the country, though the *stūpas* or *chaityas* also continued to flourish side by side.

A happy reconciliation between the structural temple and the sepulchral *Edūka* seems to have been achieved in the later *Aidūka* structures described and commended by the *Vishnudharmottara*, as the temple of Siva. The concomitant recommendation for the installation of the images of Lokapalas has been taken to be a reconciliation with Buddhism again. That the temple form is to be addressed to Śiva is perhaps justified, as Śiva is associated with the *śmaśānā* or the cremation or burial ground, and would only show a parallel development, as rightly recognized by P. Shah, who observes a similar development in the *stūpas* or *chaityas* of later times, which were weaned away from their sepulchral association and were built in the habitation areas of towns and cities, to serve symbolically as objects of reverence and worship.

One significant aspect of the description of the *aidūka* temple or structure must be emphasized at this stage, namely, the terraces on which they are to be built.

Chapter 84 of the *Vishnudharmottara*¹ prescribed at least three superimposed platforms, terraces or plinths (*bhadrapiṭhas*) over which the *liṅga* is to be installed. For access to the deity the text prescribes four staircases on the four sides, indicating an idea of the height that was intended for the shrine proper. In this context it may be stated that earliest extant treatise on ancient Indian architecture (*Vāstuśāstra*) is represented by the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* of Varahamihira, and is dated to circa A.D. 550. It is thus almost a contemporary of the *Vishnudharmottara*, which is no doubt a collation from the then known works. The importance attached in it to the *Edūka* form of architecture is significant in the context of the present discussion.

5. THE EVOLUTION OF STŪPAS AND TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

The intimate interrelationship between the terraced *stūpa* of Buddhist association and the terraced structural temple in extent, marking a logical culmination in the latter, may be emphasized here. It is the *Mahāvamśa* which prescribes how a *stūpa* should be built. The platform on which it was to be built is called *medhi* and the tumulus or mound proper is called *aṇḍa*. On the flattened top of it is to be a rectangular enclosure on a solid platform conforming to an inverted pyramid, *harmikā*, meaning the abode of gods. At the top of the *stūpa* a staff called *yasṭi* is to be fixed, and over the *yasṭi* are to be a series of three and later seven umbrellas or more flattened discs called *chhatrāvali*, representing the corresponding number of heavens. It is not to be expected that practice should always conform to theory, and in course of time divergences arose. The number of *medhis* does not seem to be prescribed, and in keeping with the requirements of symmetry, proportion and

¹P. Shah, *op. cit.*, pp. 168 ff.

harmony, there have been several concentrically superimposed platforms or terraces. Likewise the number of parasols has increased to thirteen or twentyfive in the cases of Nepalese *chaityas* and the Kanishka *stūpa* at Peshawar. The *stūpa* was last of all to be surrounded by a railing and pierced with gateways and the composite complex was taken to represent what is known as *Meru* (mountain).

The process of the evolution of the *stūpa* into a *chaitya*, first within a rock-cut cave and then within a structural enclosure, must have helped the process as well of the development of temple architecture in India. The first steps in the direction were the flat-roofed rock-cut caves, such as abound in the hills at Udayagiri near Sanchi; the next natural stage would be represented by the flat-roofed structural temples of stone at Tigowa, Eran and Sanchi. Further progress was perhaps marked by the Parvati temple at Nachna (in District Panna, Madhya Pradesh) with its superimposed box-like chamber over the *garbhagriha*, culminating, in its style, into the *śikhara* shrine of Vishṇu (commonly called the Daśavatāra temple) at Deogarh (in District Jhansi, Uttar Pradesh).¹ The process, however, did not stop short there. But the basic structural form may have been reached in this temple, which has been dated to the 6th century A.D. It is of significance that a corresponding component of the crowning members in Dravidian architecture is called a *stūpa* or *stūpikā*, no doubt in keeping with its shape, in miniature, of a *stūpa*. This culmination would be accounted for by a reconciliation as stated above between the symbolic significance of the sepulchral *stūpa* and the structural temple.

This would indicate also a structural resemblance or correspondence between the two, in the substructural terraces, and the superstructural roofs in some cases, or the sheer height in some others. The curvature of the profile of the circular or cylindrical *stūpa* is also to be seen in the curvilinear outline of temple architecture, as obtained in Orissa later and is also to be met with limitedly in a less pronounced aspect elsewhere.

The process of evolution and development broadly outlined above need not be generalized as to details, nor is it to be conceded that the pattern of development was uniform throughout or that it went through all the stages indicated. It would be perfectly explicable that in some regions the beginnings of structural development caught up with an advanced stage of another region through diffusion. It would not be difficult to establish the chronological tables of the structural relics, where they exist, and interconnexions and contacts can be traced or even emphasized. Time and contacts brought different regions together, and helped each other to be mutually influenced and re-oriented to the extent considered expedient or environmentally practicable. It is not, however, suggested that temples did not exist in the earliest days of the Aryans. It is only meant that the temple form as we know now was inspired greatly by the form of the *stūpa* architecture as it gradually evolved itself.

¹See N.R. Banerjee, 'New light on the Gupta Temples at Deogarh', *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. V, Nos. 1 & 2, 1963, pp. 37 ff.

6. ARCHITECTURE IN NEPAL

In Nepal, the beginnings of structural architecture, in the form of temples or residential houses have not been adequately traced. The earliest structural remains must be the two circular based *stūpas* at Pulchok near, Jawalakhepl, and near the Industrial Estate at Lalitpur (Patan) (pl. V), without any projecting parts of the plinths. These two, along with three others, largely modified (pl. LXVIII) in form, all in Lalitpur, have been traditionally and often hesitantly attributed to Asoka. Two other *stūpas*, (pls. VI & VII), namely, the ones at Swayambhunatha¹ and Bodhanatha², respectively, are also thought to be as old as the Asokan *stūpas*, but proof is lacking. Likewise another *chaitya*, of doubtful association with the times of Asoka, is the one at Chabahil (pl. II) attributed to Asoka's daughter, Chārumatī. The *chaitya* itself is structurally very far removed from the pristine form of the Asokan or Sungan *stūpa*, being perhaps the result of later modification in the course of repairs, of which the famous *stūpa* at Sanchi is an outstanding example.

But the votive stone-built *chaityas* of the Lichchhavi period abound in the valley and are unmistakable. They are all of a group, distinguished by structural similarity and decorative features and are often labelled by inscriptions occurring on some of them. Though a detailed study of the *stūpa* architecture of Nepal is yet awaited, the general features of the *chaityas* are clear. At the earliest date, these rise on three square plinths, which become proportionately smaller in size as they rise in height. They are finally surmounted by a domical *stūpa* or a *stūpa* which is sometimes a hemisphere, and often an elongated hemisphere. The form of the early finial fixed into a rectangular or square socket cut into the top of the dome is not clear as the original finds are mostly missing. These served as the basic form of later *chaityas*, which had a cylindrical *stūpi*, somewhat flattened at the top with the thirteen-ringed crown of umbrellas and were marked by the introduction of the four Dhyāni Buddhas, namely Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitabha and Amoghasiddhi on the eastern, southern, western and northern sides, respectively, of Tantric origin. These in turn served as the prototype of the *chörtens* in northern Nepal and Tibet (pl. LXIX).

In the miscellany of structural styles prevalent in Nepal, the terraced shrine occupies a prominent place.³ Both the *śikhara* type of temples and those of the pagoda or *devala* style characterized by multiple roofs are raised over a high platform built in successive tiers, each higher one becoming recedingly smaller in size. The so-called pagoda style is a distinctive development in Nepal and its ancestry can perhaps be traced back to the 7th century A.D. when the place of the reigning king of Nepal evoked

¹D. Snellgrove (*Buddhist Himalaya*, Oxford, 1957, p. 95) says, "As there are no means of knowing the date of the original foundation of this *stūpa* without excavating to its central foundations and this no archaeologist is likely to attempt to do, it is all but useless to speculate on its age".

²*Ibid.*, p. 98. Snellgrove writes, "Its origin is just as vague as that of Swayambhu, respectively, which has also been given an equally heavy antiquity".

³N. R. Banerjee, 'An Introduction to Nepalese Art', *Nepalese Art*, Kathmandu, 1966.

appreciation and applause from a Chinese traveller as detailed above (pp. 82-3). The reference obviously was to the *Kailāsakūṭabhavana*, the palace of the time of Amsuvarman from which most of their inscriptions were issued. The earliest inscriptional reference to *Kailāsakūṭabhavana*¹ goes back to the end of the 6th century A.D. The terraced plinth must circumstantially be as old as the tradition of storied and balustraded *śikhara*s. The close connexion between the Lichchhavis and the Guptas, which the coins of Chandragupta I² and the inscriptions of Samudragupta³ clearly indicate, and the uniformity of the scripts which the Lichchhavis and Guptas employed in their inscriptions would point also to a close intimacy of the storied *Eḍūka* style of structure at Ahichchhatra during the Gupta occupation of the region. The fact that this style did not find much favour in India and practically died out in so far Brahmanical or Jain temples were concerned, need not, however, indicate or point to the focus or centre of its expansion. That the terraced style came to stay in Nepal and remained popular throughout her long history could be easily set down to her climatic conditions which called for height and a solid and sturdy base for structures to ward off the effects of heavy rainfall in the higher altitudes. Though stagnant pools of water are not indeed a common experience in the Kathmandu valley, owing to the thirstily porous nature of the soil, or of the sloping nature of the topography, the temples had to be built at a considerable height to avoid the upward influx of moisture from the earth through capillary action. This phenomenon is grappled with even in the meanest private architecture in Nepal by introducing a vacuum between the earth and the level of the ground floor, and using it for fodder or for the domestic animals as already indicated earlier.

Soon, however, the novelties of the style wear off on the Indian soil and, apart from the expenses of the avoidable mass of sub-structure, the soaring heights of the structures themselves rendered the intervening height of the plinth superfluous. The tradition of the style was, however, limitedly conveyed to posterity through a few persistent specimens, such as the temples at Ahichchhatra and Pawaya, mentioned earlier.

The main purpose of the style was, undoubtedly, to achieve an imposing height for the shrines by the dual means of a soaring *śikhara* or pyramidal or circular top and a lofty base. This would render each shrine into a *Meru*, or mountain, symbolically representing in miniature the enormity of the Abode of God. In course of time the possibility of achieving the desired height and effect architecturally in the super-structure itself rendered superfluous the need to raise the height of the base. This was especially the case where the climatic conditions did not press for it. The choice was

¹The inscriptions of Amsuvarman who used the era beginning in A.D. 595 were issued from the palace called *Kailāsakūṭabhavana*.

²John Allan, *Catalogue of Gupta Coins*, Plate III, pp. 8 ff.

³J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscription Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp. 8-9.

perhaps accentuated also by the limited scope for beautification and embellishment that was offered by the plinth.

The introduction of the multiple roofs over the temples may have been inspired initially by the numerous concentric rings on the *stūpas*.

It is to be noted that the terraced sub-structure of the *stūpa* evolved in Nepal in the period of the Lichchhavis, who for a time ruled contemporaneously with the Guptas, and should constitute in import and form an *Edūka* structure corresponding to the definition provided in the *Vishnudharmottara*.

Though a *chaityagriha*, implying a *stūpa* or *chaitya* within an enclosed and roofed chamber, is yet to be discovered in Nepal, it cannot be gainsaid that the temple form evolved fairly early in Nepal.

The Changu Narayana inscription¹ of Manadeva, dated A.D. 446 (=386 V.S.), would perhaps indicate the earliest reference to a temple in Nepal.

But the earliest tangible reference to any temple would be Amsuvarman's description of the temple of Paśupati in his inscriptions as has been mentioned already.

A set of three panels in stone, of *circa* 6th century A.D., depicting scenes from the *Kumārasambhava* of Kalidasa along with four pillars lying fixed alongside a cistern by the side of a street in Naghaltol, Kathmandu, would easily indicate a temple, but whether its top was of the *śikhara* type is more than one can say.

Perhaps the earliest *śikharā* shrine to be discovered in the Kathmandu valley, and attributable to the 10th-11th centuries A.D., is to be found in the premises of the Paśupati temple at Deopatan. This style of architecture was not, however, very popular, nor common in Nepal, and the reasons therefore, are not far to seek.

The multiple-roofed temple with or without multiple plinths became in fact the characteristic temple type of Nepal. This type has often been erroneously called as the pagoda style. It has already been pointed out that the word pagoda is current in Burma in the sense of a *stūpa-chaitya* and corresponds to the *dāgaba* of Sri Lanka, conveying the same broad sense, though derived from *dhātugarbha*. It should, if at all, be actually applicable to the *stūpa* form, though presumably in view of the flared out roof of Nepalese temples, following the convexo-concave outline of the pagoda, the style came to be so designated. But the inscriptions of the Mallas, during whose long reign (1200-1769) this style of temples must apparently have flourished, describe the temples as *devala*, in the Newari language. Tentatively, this style of architecture may, therefore, with reason be designated as the *devala* style², as already detailed earlier (pp. 77 ff. ante).

¹R. Gnoli, *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters*, Part I, Rome, 1956, pp. 1-5.

²Anticipatingly this name has already been employed in this sense in the authors 'Introduction to Nepalese Art' in the *Nepalese Art* (Kathmandu, 1966).

EDŪKA (OR TERRACED) AND MULTIPLE-ROOFED TEMPLES OF NEPAL

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One would very much like to get the complete evidence of this type to present a connected account of its evolution and development.

The multiple-terraced temple, in the context of what has been stated above, would belong, therefore, to the category of the *Edūka* or *Aidūka* temple of the Sanskrit texts. But the multiple terraces were not without their utility. In fact, for very important reasons of practical utility, they became even essential to structural edifices in Nepal. It is well known that Nepal is a land of heavy rainfall, and its water-table, especially during the rainy season, is very high. In ancient times, the subsoil water and moisture have been major sources of trouble to the dwellers of the region, particularly in the absence of a damp-proof course, which has come into vogue only recently. One way to circumvent this obstacle of the ascent of the subsoil moisture by capillary action has been to build the sub-structures up to a considerable height. This has been achieved with grace and visual effect, by breaking up the height proportionately into terraces rising in a receding order. At the same time the eminence thus gained has suited the requirement of the abode of gods.

Conversely, the superstructure had to be of suitable height to match with its plinth complex. Corresponding to the break-up of the base into a series of terraces, the height of the temple proper had necessarily to be broken up into tiers, in the receding order, and each lower roof had, of necessity, to be wider than the one immediately above it. This gave rise to a pleasing elevation of graduated courses. The roof had to be made to slope downwards with an adequate gradient for the rain-water to glide down smoothly, with provision for the sliding down of snow in the higher altitudes. The sloping roofs, incidentally, matched with the outline of the hillocks and mountains which serve the back-drop, and may as well have been inspired by them. The height of the plinth made it obligatory as a natural corollary to raise the height of the superstructure, which was more important functionally than the plinth. The multiple roofs came naturally to be conceived in the course of roofing the superstructure, and at the same time to harmonize it with the sub-structure and the surroundings, besides the important considerations of proportion. The breaking up of the roof into several stages also provided the artist with a wider scope for decoration and embellishment which were lavished didactically on the wooden brackets, called *ṭuṇāls*, supporting the projected eaves. The carvings on the wooden brackets of foliage and decorative patterns, besides the divine and mundane figures, enabled the architect to create an atmosphere at once of mystery and beauty.

One of the earliest extant temples of the style is the *Kāshṭhamandapa* (pl. XXXIX) in the heart of Kathmandu, and has in all probability imparted its name first to the locality or little township which grew up around it, and in course of time to the capital of the entire kingdom. As an exception it stands on a single plinth.

There are of course many temples with a single terrace, but it is rare to see a single roofed temple. The multiple roofs also correspond to the multiple floors of even residential houses, and the roofs of the temples had to be provided, as much to differentiate one storey from another as to account for the reduced sizes of the supervening floors with multiple roofs. So even when the plinth was simplified and reduced to one single terrace, the multiple roofs remained. In view of the established priority of the Lichchhavi *chaityas* over the enshrined temples, it cannot be gainsaid that the terraced temple was the fundamental type to begin with. Even the *śikhara* temple, say the Krishna temple at Lalitpur (pl. XXXV), built in A.D. 1637, stands on terraces, serving as its plinth.

Not very far away from it, in the Durbar Square at Lalitpur, in front of the palace (pl. XXVII), there are several temples of the style pleasingly combining multiple terraces with multiple roofs. The Taleju Bhavānī temple within the enclosure of the palace of Pratapamalla built early in the 17th century at Kathmandu (pl. XXVII), is a good example of the style.

The Jaisi Deval near Lagantol of late mediaeval times, at a short distance to the south of *Kāshthamandapa*, rises on seven tiers and has three roofs.

The much repaired Kumbheśvara temple (pl. XLVIII), at Lalitpur, originally built in the 14th century, is a good example of the multiple-roofed temple, but, like the *Kāshthamandapa*, is erected on a single low plinth.

Perhaps the most notable example of the style, combining five roofs with five terraces, is the Nyatapola temple (Nyatapau in Newari) at Bhaktapur (pl. XL), built by Bhupatindramalla in the beginning of the 18th century. Instances can be multiplied, but they need not detain us here. Perhaps it would be possible some day to work out a completely sequential history of all the temples of the style, with a study of minute architectural and decoration details. Broadly speaking, it would be worthwhile studying the relationship of the number of storeys on the roof with the number of plinths, including the exceptions.

Thus this style of temple architecture may be said to have evolved from the *Edūka* or *Aidūka* form of architecture, described in the ancient architectural text. It passed through intermediate stages of the storied *stūpa* and its later incorporation in its principle of the embodiment of the godhead in the temple structure on the crowning point, in an elaborate combination of *stūpa*, *āmalaka*, *pūrṇaghaṭa*, *chhatrāvalī*, to form the elaborate *gajura* within a triangular frame of gilt metal (pl. L). The *gajura* over the temples of Nepal is a distinctive feature of her own, and the idea of the incorporation of the *stūpa* in it in miniature is suggested tentatively, on the basis of the parallel nomenclature of *stūpi* existing as far away as in south India. The multiple roofs reflects inversely the storeys of the plinth in the superstructure in symmetrical unison, and is possibly and suggestively derived from the essential sub-structural feature of the *Edūka*. The crowning member has its distant inspiration in the earthen *kalasa* (pitcher) which was anciently placed in an inverted position on the top junction

of the ridges of the roofs over the primitive hut. It served primarily to prevent leakage of rain water into the chamber below, and later as a decorative feature, besides serving in its upright position, as the *pūrṇaghata* (pl. LXX), implying prosperity and welfare. The *pūrṇaghata* has thus come to be combined with the *stūpa* in miniature in the pinnacle on the summit of the temple which is the first to attract the attention of devotees and beckons them to it with a mysterious force. The *āmalaka* (myrobalan) while serving as a decorative feature, serves also as a spacer that pleasingly breaks the line. Even in miniature it still strikes, because of its bright golden colour, the eyes of the approaching devotee or visitor about to enter into a temple, and claims representatively the reverence of the intending worshipper even from a distance and prepares him for the worship or submission that would follow.

7. THE EḌŪKA TEMPLES AT AHICHCHHATRA

In this context, it would not be inappropriate to say that the history of architecture, particularly temple architecture, in South and South-East Asia would remain inadequately documented without the evidence of Ahichchhatra, as some of it constitutes distinctive landmarks in the evolution of the architectural form and pattern in the area.

The structures in question comprise (i) a terraced temple (pl. LXV), exposed on site AC I, crowned by the broken shaft of a large Śiva-*linga* (pl. LXVII) and (ii) a terraced temple (pl. LXVI) at site AC II.¹

The Śiva temple (AC I) rises to a height of 75 ft. (22.86 m.) above the surrounding plains and dominated the countryside by its imposing form and height. It is built in the shape of a terraced tower of five concentric platforms, square in shape, rising in receding tiers and culminating into a square *sanctum* at the top. The four sides are aligned along the cardinal directions. The temple faces the west, and is approached by a staircase, built medially, in two stages, on the eastern side. Originally, however, it could as well be approached from the eastern side by means of an intricate system of transversely lateral stairs running up along the vertical face of each platform. The stairs commenced from a common landing and went upwards to the edges of the next higher platform, thus providing access from one platform to the other. The remains of the staircases are now available between the second and third and between the third and fourth platforms only. The opening of the passage from the working level on the ground to the second platform above has been blocked by a brick wall. This seems to have been done, after devastating floods in the river, early in the Gupta period, on the eastern side of the mound, made it necessary to block off a large part of the site in the eastern direction by means of a brick-built partition wall running east-west, skirting

¹A. Ghosh and K.C. Panigrahi, 'Pottery of Ahichchhatra (U.P.)', *Ancient India*, No. 1, p. 38; V.S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 167; Archaeological Remains, Monuments and Museums (Archaeological Survey of India), 1964, p. 51; N. R. Banerjee, 'Ahichchhatra : An Account of Recent Exploration', *Indian Museum Bulletin*, Vol. V, No. 2, July, 1970, pp. 12-27.

along the base of the Śiva temple covering in the lowest terrace in the north-east corner and joining up with the defence walls at each end, around the ancient habitations. The blocking up of the passage from the first or lowest platform to the second by the filling up of the then existing gap through the centre of the second platform by means of coursed bricks followed as a natural consequence of the obstruction caused by the partition wall. In fact, the coming into existence of the partition wall interdicted any further use of the eastern approach to the *sanctum* on the top. Henceforth the temple was approached only from the western side.

The nature of the means of the access from the fourth to the fifth or topmost platform enclosing the *sanctum* is not determinable now.

As an additional support or buttress to the terraces, cross walls were laid at regular intervals against the vertical faces of the platforms on each tier of the terraces, on the northern and southern sides. The spaces in between the buttresses were filled up with clay and debris to render them solid and strong to serve as foundation cells as it were for the superstructures.

Furthermore, there are central projections of the platforms of the three lower terraces imparting to the massive structure the semblance of a *triratha* plan. At the same time, the remains of the square projections in each corner of the lowest platform are suggestive of a *pañchāyatana* (a group of five shrines) complex.

The 7 ft. 10 in. (2m. 39cm.) long broken shaft of the *liṅga* (pl. LXVII) on the top is not standing at the centre of the sanctum, but a little towards its north-west corner. It is rectangular at the base, measuring 3 ft. 4 in. × 3 ft. 8 in. (1.16m. × 1.2m.) which rises to a height of 2 ft. 10 in., (86 cm.), octagonal in the middle, accounting for the next 3 ft. (92 cm.) of its height, and the circular top, which should have risen proportionately, but has only a length of 2 ft. (61 cm.) left to it.

The stratigraphic evidence obtained by the excavations carried out on the site has shown that the area, bounded off to the northeast by the partition wall, ceased to be occupied after the Gupta period, say after the 7th century A.D. The temple itself was built over the ruins of an apsidal temple of the Kushana period¹.

Thus the date of the temple can be fixed at a point between the Kushana period and the early phases of the Gupta rule. From its size, it may have been marked out as a symbol or commemoration of Samudragupta's victory over Achyuta, whose coins have been found on the site, and may actually have been raised during the rule of Chandragupta II, early in the 5th century A.D. It would thus represent a very early example of the architecture of the Guptas in this region.

¹Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 167. The considerations of the study are also based on the observations of the author who carried out further excavations at Ahichchhatra in 1964 and 1965. See Banerjee, *op. cit.*

In view of the continued use of the temple till this date it may be admitted that periodic additions and alterations were always possible during its lifetime. In fact, V.S. Agrawala has dated the narrative plaques in terracotta, which were found in a frieze running round one of the upper terraces, between *circa* A.D. 450 and 650, on stylistic grounds. The probable fact that the Buddhist *stūpas*, containing corporeal remains of bones, may have gone by the name of *Eḍūkas*, would be a contradiction against a late date. The almost complete absence of this form of architecture for the Brahmanical pantheon elsewhere within the Gupta empire would also indicate an earlier date rather than later. The other temple (pl. LXVI) at Ahichchhatra too was similarly built.

In this context it may be mentioned that Yuan Chwang who visited Ahichchhatra early in the 7th century had observed many *stūpas* on the site but not one of them has survived. The principal evidence of Buddhist images, limited in themselves in stone and terracotta, comes on the site from the Kushana levels. It would, therefore, be fair to assume Kushana dates for most of the *stūpas* on the site, some of which were obviously standing during the visit of Yuan Chwang. Circumstantially they were obviously of much smaller size than the two Brahmanical temples in the supposedly *Eḍuka* style under consideration. The erection of towering monuments in this style would be an obvious means of setting up glorious relics of the victory and resurgence of the Brahmanical order over the Buddhist, despite the prevalence and pursuit of a tolerant attitude towards the others that may have vied with it.

Against the background of the fact that the roofed Gupta temples we know of have a sequence of evolution with earlier prototypes excavated into solid rock as cave temples to begin with, the temple with multiple plinths would imply a departure from the apparently earlier known and established tradition of *Eḍūkas*, which must have been the prevalent style of the *stūpas*. This departure must, therefore, have taken place before the adoption of the enclosed and covered structural form, a beginning in which was made with cave temples, as those in the Udayagiri area would indicate. The circumstance *ipso facto* would plead for an earlier date than that indicated by Agrawala.

8. OTHER EḍŪKA TEMPLES IN INDIA

This type of terraced temples or structures to serve as religious edifices have several prototypes in India and elsewhere.

One of the earliest is a three-terraced structure dated to the Gupta period at Sarnath, District Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh, near the site of the Dhamekh Stupa and monasteries. It is, however, completely covered by a lofty tower built in 1588, which is known by the name of Chaukhandi. From the find of an image of the Buddha in *dharmachakramudrā* and other relics and the prevalence of niches on the

walls for statuary it may be safely inferred that it was a *stūpa* in the *Edūka* style of the Gupta period.¹

Not very far from Sarnath, is Sravasti on one side, in District Bahraich, Uttar Pradesh, known by their humdrum rural name of Saheth-Maheth, and Nalanda, in District Nalanda, Bihar, where further examples of the terraced style of structures are available.

At Sravasti (Saheth)² there were at least four structures which were built in the terraced manner. These have been described as *stūpa* no. 5, and temple nos. 1-3, respectively. Of these the best preserved example is the *stūpa* no. 5, which rises in four terraces, of which the lowest is rectangular in plan, measuring, in the exposed parts, 83 ft. (25.30 m.) east-west and 71 ft. (21.64 m.) north-south. The central terraces are squarish. The lowest of these, forming the second terrace measuring 58 ft. × 50 ft. (17.64 × 15.24 m.) supports a third square terrace with central projections as in a *triratha* plan supporting a fourth, enclosing an octagonal cell. The shrine or *stūpa* is approached from the east over steps built of brick-walled rectangular enclosures filled with debris. The terraced form is believed to have resulted from subsequent additions to the *stūpa* after the previous ones had fallen into ruins or had been otherwise damaged. The *stūpa* no. 5 at Sravasti appears, from the symmetrical arrangement of its structural parts, to have been the result of an integrated growth. There are indeed a few more structures at Sravasti, namely, the Kachchikuti and Pakkikuti, which were obviously rectangular in plan. From the extant remains and published accounts it is not possible to say if they were terraced, though there is every possibility in view of the prototypes described above that they were indeed so. A third structure, called the temple of Shobhnath, enclosed within a rectangular courtyard, should, circumstantially, have been a terraced temple though the available description is badly inadequate to convey any definite impression. The existence of at least two flights of stairs connecting three terraces can, however, be seen in the published photograph. The character of its upper part does not lend itself to any reconstruction as the installation of a Muslim tomb on top must have done away with the incompatible original features.

The extensive Buddhist site at Nalanda³ contains monasteries, *stūpas* and temples and all of them show clear-cut evidence of successive occupation and periodic reconstructions over the ruins and debris of the earlier period. Of these the main *stūpa* has seven stages. Most of the structures range in date between Samudragupta in the 4th century A.D. and the end of the Pala rule in the 12th century A.D. In Fahien's time (A.D. 399-414) there was nothing beyond a small *stūpa* on the site.

¹A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India, Reports*, I, II, III, VI and VIII (1871-80); F.O. Oertel, 'Excavations at Sarnath', *A.R.A.S.I.*, 1904-05 (Calcutta, 1908), pp. 68 ff.; V.S. Agrawala, *Sarnath*, 1957, pp. 13-14.

²*A.R.A.S.I.*, 1921-22, pp. 105 ff.; 1929-30, pp. 193 ff.

³A. Ghosh, *A Guide to Nalanda*, 1946.

The place received considerable patronage from the Pala kings who are credited with founding monasteries and shrines at Vikramasila, Somapura, Odantapura and Jagaddala, respectively.¹

The main *stūpā* and the three temples² at Nalanda are each built over a square plinth. The *chaitya* nos. 12, 13 and 14 show an elaboration in that they have rectangular projections in the corners. The *chaitya* no. 12 houses a shrine on each of the four projections forming a *pañchāyatana* and all this complex stands on a square plinth. All these shrines (*chaityas*) are approached from the east by means of a flight of stairs enclosed between walls giving access to the basal plinth. The stone temple no. 2 standing to the east of the block of monastery has a square base surmounted by a second terrace over which rises the oblong cella, apparently showing two stages of construction. It should, therefore, conform to the type of a terraced temple, of the Brahmanical faith. The sculptural panels in stone fixed against the facade of the plinth on all sides all agree in style and subject with those at the terraced temple at Paharpur. The entrance is from the eastern side. The sculptures are stylistically datable to the 6th century A.D., and the temple would be dated likewise or somewhat later.

The recent excavations at Devnimori³ in District Sabarkantha, Gujarat, have revealed the remains of a monastery and a *stūpa* built in the 3rd century A.D. The remains of the *stūpa* consist of an oblong platform or terrace, supporting a *pradakshinā-patha* around the central *stūpa*. Likewise the excavations at Antichak, District Bhagalpur, Bihar, at the supposed site of Vikramasila have exposed partially the brick-built oblong or square plinth of a massive structure possibly representing a *stūpa*. Further excavation will reveal the structures and it is premature to anticipate its true character. It would belong to the class of terraced *stūpas* and temples at Nalanda.

9. EDŪKA STRUCTURES OR TEMPLES IN PAKISTAN AND BANGLADESH

Perhaps the earliest specimen of the storied *stūpa* in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent was the great *stūpa* at Shahji-ki-Dheri near Peshawar, attributed to the reign of Kanishka. "It consisted of a casement in five stages (150 ft. or 45.7 m.), a superstructure (*stūpa*) of carved wood in thirteen storeys (400 ft. or 122 m.), surmounted by an iron column with from thirteen to twenty-five gilt copper umbrellas (88 ft. or 26.8 m.) making a total height of 638 ft. or 194.46 m."⁴

One of the earliest *stūpas* of the style in Pakistan is the *stūpa* at Mirpurkhas⁵ in Sind in Pakistan. Dated to *circa* A.D. 400 it was built over a square terrace measuring

¹A. Schiefner, *Taranathas Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, St. Petersburg, 1869.

²H.G. Franz, 'Die Ausgrabungen in Nalanda', *Indologen Tagung 1959*, Goettingen, 1959.

³*Indian Archaeology 1961-62—A Review*, pp. 3-4; *Indian Archaeology 1962-63—A Review*, p. 3; R. N. Mehta and S.N. Chowdhary, *Journal of Oriental Research Institute*, Baroda, XII, pp. 173 ff. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 519.

⁴A.K. Commaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 1927, p. 53.

⁵H. Cousens, 'Buddhist Stupa at Mirpurkhas', Sind, *Annual Report Archaeological Survey of India*, 1909-10 (Calcutta, 1914), pp. 80 ff.

50 ft. (15.24 m.) on each side and made of mud-bricks encased in a frame of burnt-bricks which formed the outer walls of the terrace or plinth. On the western face was a small opening leading to three cells in the body of the plinth showing the use of the stone arch. The sculptural embellishment indicates clearly its Gandhara character.

But the most imposing structure in the unmistakably *edūka* style is the main temple at Paharpur.¹ In plan it is a cruciform structure built of burnt bricks in three terraces supporting a central cella at its top. The lowest terrace is over 350 ft. (106.7 m.) in length and breadth, respectively, and the total extreme height of the temple rises to 70 ft. (28.34 m.) above the level of the courtyard. It is surrounded by a square cloister with shrines against its inner wall all round. The quadrangle is pierced by a lofty gateway on the northern side. The access from one platform to the other was by a flight of stairs, the platforms themselves serving as *pradakshinapatha* (circum-ambulatory). It was built towards the end of the 8th century A.D. It is richly decorated with narrative terracotta plaques fitted against the walls of the plinth in each successive terrace representing interestingly both Buddhist and Brahmanical pantheons. From the inscribed letters found on some, the date of its construction in the 8th century A.D. can be conceded. The plaques were obviously put in their places without any plan, periodically, as and when they were executed by the artists.

10. MULTIPLE-ROOFED TEMPLES IN INDIA AND THE EDŪKA ELEMENT

The subject of temples with gables or multiple roofs in India has been dealt with at some length by Percy Brown.² The same topic has also been dealt with variously and piecemeal by James Fergusson³ and Benjamin Rowland⁴, respectively, besides Coomaraswamy⁵, and has been examined already (pages 77ff. *ante*).

Temples with actual multiple roofs or with merely strong semblances of the same, occur in widely separated regions, namely, Kashmir, Chamba (Himachal Pradesh), Kathiawad (Gujarat), besides Karnataka and Kerala on the west coast of the south Indian peninsula, not to speak of their ramifications in the contiguous regions of Bengal and Orrisa.

These again may be divided stylistically into two homogeneous groups. One group encompasses Kashmir and Gujarat marked by temples with two or three superimposed roofs and a pyramidal profile. The other group, in Karnataka and Kerala, comprises temples bearing strong resemblances to the Nepalese temples and are distinguished by multiple sloping roofs, in wood or in stone.

The nearest example, in style as well as in space, of the multiple-roofed temples in India, corresponding to the temples of Nepal, is the one typified by the temple at

¹K.N. Dikshit, Excavations at Paharpur, Bengal, *Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 55, Delhi, 1938.

²*Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)*, pp. 131-33.

³*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, pp. 76 ff; 255-72, 287.

⁴*The Art and Architecture of India (Buddhist-Hindu-Jain)*.

⁵A.K. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*

Chergaon (fig. 3; p. 90) on the Satluj in Chamba, Himachal Pradesh. It is a temple built essentially of wood, with three superimposed and sloping roofs. The topmost tier of the roof is distinctively circular, a form with which we are familiar in Nepal. Peculiarly, however, and unlike anything in Nepal, the temple has an *ardhamanḍapa* added to it longitudinally against the entrance in an axial plan. This adjunct is provided with two closely superimposed roofs, the upper one with a ridge and a gable front. The Dattatreya temple (pl. LI) at Bhaktapur (Nepal), has a miniature roof projecting like a *śukanāsa* or *ardhamanḍapa* from the first floor over the entrance, and this is somewhat comparable.

Brown has indicated that the presence of these so-called pagoda type structures in Nepal may be accounted for by the often accepted connexion between the Nayars of Kerala and the Newars of Nepal. As the tentative theory would indicate a directional trend to Nepal from the homeland of the Nayars, the absence of examples in the intermediate regions is not easily explained as already discussed earlier.

In the same breath Brown has also adverted to a possible influence from China over the sea route, indicated by the use of Chinese type fishing nets used in the coastal areas of Kerala. Neither theory can yet be proved. It may, however, be stated that the style is rooted in the soil, and fits in perfectly with the surroundings and the climate. There cannot be any doubt that the sloping as well as the multiple roofs of Kerala or Karnataka temples were fully functional, and not merely imitatively ornamental as may be easily concluded from the fact of the exposure of these regions to heavy rainfall.

A distinction must at this stage be made between the *eḍūka* structure, the most distinctive feature of which was the raised plinth in multiple tiers, and the *manḍapa* or *devāla* structure distinguished by the multiple, sloping and superimposed roofs. The plinths of the Kerala, Karnataka, Gujarat, Chamba or Kashmir temples in this category do not have the essential *eḍūka* aspect.

11. EḍŪKA EDIFICES IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

(i) General

This style of architecture exercised considerable influence in Burma, Cambodia (Campuchea) and Java, as also limitedly in Thailand, in South-East Asia.¹

(ii) Burma

In Burma, the temple of Nat-Hlaung Gyaung at Pagan, attributed to *circa* A.D. 931, and the *stūpa* of Mangalazedi at Pagan, dated to A.D. 1274, besides the Mahabodhi temple, also at Pagan, and dated to 1215, the *stūpa*, of Bawbawgyi, of the 10th century, at Hmawza (old Prome), and the *stūpa* of Shivesandaw of the mid-eleventh century

¹J. Ph. Vogel, *Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon and Java*, 1936, pp. 91 ff.; J.E. van Lohuizen-de-Leeuw, 'Preservation of Archaeological Remains in Indonesia', *Indologen Tagung* 1959, Goettingen, 1959, pp. 200 ff.

A.D., at Pagan, besides of course the temple of Thatbinnyu of the 11th century A.D., at Pagan, provide numerous examples of the *edūka* style of architecture in the area.

The temple of Nat Hlaung Gyaung is built of bricks with sparing use of stone. The plan is square, and rises in receding terraces to support a conical superstructure. The conical *stūpa* of Mangalazedi at Pagan rises in a circular form of delicately charming outline over three concentric terraces, square on plan, and is characteristically approached by a flight of steps on each of the four sides.

The Mahabodhi temple at Pagan, built on the model of the Mahabodhi temple of Gaya, has a lofty basement over which rises the truncated pyramid of the *śikhara*. The *stūpa* of Bawbawgyi is conical at the top over a square base of five concentric platforms in diminishing tiers.

The *stūpa* of Shivesandaw in Pagan is likewise conical in outline, built on a base of five receding tiers, crowned by an *āmalaka* finial.

(iii) *Cambodia (Campuchea)*

Cambodia (Campuchea) provides numerous examples of architectural relics built in the *edūka* style. These comprise, principally, the temple of Takeo in Angkor Thom, Phnom Bakheng, Baksei Chamkrong, Phimeanakas and the Angkor Wat itself, all concentrated in the area of the twin cities of Angkor Thom and Angkor Wat.

The temple of Takeo, dated to A.D. 889, is unfinished; nevertheless two, basement terraces below and two terraces above are clearly distinguishable. It is approached by flights of stairs placed at the centres of each side in each level.

The temple of Baksei Chamkrong, dated to A.D. 947, is situated in the centre of the topmost platform of a series of five concentric and square platforms and is approached by stairs on all sides.

The temple of Phnom Bakheng, dated to the beginning of the 10th century A.D. and dedicated to the memory of the king-god, namely, Yasovarman, who ruled in A.D. 889-910, consists likewise of five concentric platforms.

Another temple of this style is that of Phimeanakas which rises in three receding tiers of concentric platforms, and is dated to the 10th century A.D., with the topmost platform surrounded by a fenestrated gallery on all sides. As in the other cases, access to the temple is obtained by means of stone staircases through the centre of each side, and the stairs themselves are flanked on each landing by a pair of seated lions, recalling the distinctive feature of Nepalese temples.

The most elaborate of all the temples in Campuchea is the Angkor Wat itself, of which the central complex of shrines, in three storeys, stands in the centre of a complex of three oblong terraces. As in all other cases, the innermost shrine was approached by means of flights of stairs on each of the four sides of the oblong platforms. Like the Phnom Bakheng, it was also dedicated to a king, namely,

Suryavarman II (1112-52), who founded the city of Angkor Wat, subserving the conception of the divine king.

It has been suggested that the lofty height of the temple attained through the arrangement of the terraces was deliberately designed to serve the conception of the Meru or temple mountain, to symbolize in microcosm the macrocosm the abode of gods.

(iv) *Java*

Of the numerous examples in Java, are the temple of Loro Jongrang in Pambanam, besides the renowned *stūpa* of Barabudur.

The Śiva temple at Loro Jongrang (A.D. 860-915), is built at the pinnacle of a lofty platform, raised in two terraces, with stairways on all four sides. The plan of the world-famous Barabudur *stūpa*, rising over nine successive storeys, of which the lower six were square platforms with recessed sides and the upper three, circular terraces, to form a *pañcharatha* at the base, is a symmetrical structure of great beauty in the *eḍūka* style, that came into existence in the 8th century A.D. (fig. 7, see also p. 128).

The storied form, the niches, containing or enshrining the deity, into the sides of the *stūpa* or in its cella and the crowning pinnacle of the *stūpa* may have lent not a little of their influence to evolve the shape of the *śikhara* shrines which should appear to form a logical culmination of this style.

(v) *Thailand*

In Thailand, too, the influence of the storied base is to be seen limitedly in the temple of Lopburi called the Wat Mahadhatu, built about the 12th century A.D. It is a temple of the *śikhara* style built over a platform which is broken into three receding tiers, and is cruciform on plan with projections in the angles between the crossed arms. The plinth is a little elongated on the entrance side to accommodate a portion of the *antarāla*. Though not strictly curvilinear in outline, it tapers to a curved outline near the top.

The basal platforms of these temples were no doubt derived from the *jagati* (platform), described in the *Vishṇudharmottara*, of which the norm of three successive ones was recommended for the principal architectural type called the Himavat, meaning of course, the mountain or Meru.

12. EḍŪKA EDIFICES IN SRI LANKA

Sri Lanka, India's nearest neighbour in the extreme south, was also not free from the style of storied *stūpas*. The earliest of these, the Ruwenweli Dagaba at Anuradhapura was built by King Dutthagamani in the second century B.C. The *stūpa* consists of the *dāgaba* proper in domical shape, with three basal platforms, circular on plan, rising above two concentric square platforms rising in diminishing size. Like the normal *eḍūka stūpa*, the platforms are connected by means of a flight of steps at each landing

on each of the four cardinal sides, while the principal entrance is through a colonnaded portico built on the ground on the eastern side.

Far removed from this early *stūpa* in point of time is the *stūpa* of Wata-dega at Polonnaruwa, built by Parakrama Bahu in the 12th century. This *stūpa* or shrine is entirely circular on plan and rises on circular platforms.

Both these types differ substantially from the standard pattern of the textual style of the *edūka* shrine, and are both far removed from the times of the *Vishṇudharmottara*.

13. CONCLUSION

That the form of architecture as well as the religions they subserved, travelled to the above mentioned parts of South-East Asia from India is an accepted fact. Even the sculptural art of these regions bears unmistakable evidence of the influence from India in theme as in style. In course of time local minutiae and differentiae were evolved and grafted on both architecture and iconography.

It has been suggested¹ that the idea of the ziggurats of Sumer, which is, in fact, a storied tower, and a high abode of god may have travelled to the Gandhara region from West Asia during the rule of the Parthians about A.D. 100. The Kumrahar plaque showing a storied tower supporting a *stūpa* dated to the 1st century A.D., is perhaps the earliest known evidence of the *edūka* style of construction. The Kanishka *stūpa* found in the neighbourhood of Peshawar, of a slightly later date, indicates the wide expanse of the basic conception which is clinched by the comparable relief reported from Mathura datable to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. If the Kumrahar specimen is not indigenous in conception and execution, it was perfectly possible for the Kushanas to have picked up the idea in the Gandhara region and transmitted it throughout their extensive empire and even beyond into the regions of their original home.

It is also conceded that it was the Kushanas who were responsible for the introduction of Buddhism into China in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. It was possible, therefore, for even structural ideas so intimately connected with religion to be so conveyed by the Kushanas to China. The matter assumes importance in view of the proved evidence of storied pagoda in the reliefs at Yunkang and Lungmen in North China about A.D. 450 or 500. This would lend support to the literary evidence of multiple-storied wooden pagodas in China from about the same period or a little earlier.

¹See Dietrich Seckel, *The Art of Buddhism (Art of the World)*, 1944. See also the views of V.S. Agrawala on similar derivation of the storied temple from the ziggurats of Sumer as referred to elsewhere (pp. 81-2 ante).

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Will Durant has stated that "the oldest standing pagoda is at Sung Yuehssu built in 523 A.D. on the sacred mountain of Sung Shan in Honan."¹

It is suggested that the idea travelled from the Gandhara region to China, where, on plan, the type evolved was polygonal.

The storied form travelled also to Korea and Japan in the 6th and 7th centuries. The storied form of the substructure was adopted in China, but in Japan it was the multiple-roofed pagoda that became popular as early as the 7th century A.D. as exemplified by the pagodas of Horyuji and Muroji (9th century) near Nara. The ideas may have been transmitted by pilgrims as well as missionaries. These would vindicate the standpoint that there must be an intimate connexion and combination between the multiple-terraced plinth on the one hand and the multiple-terraced roofs on the other, of which some of the Nepalese specimens present convincing evidence. It is significant that examples of temples with a single plinth but multiple roofs are many, but example of temples with multiple terraces and a single roof are comparatively rare in Nepal.

Even Tibet has shown the full play and expansion therein of the *edūka* style in the *stūpa-chaityas* called *choertens*. The most distinctive among them is the one at Gyantse which is built in the centre of the topmost tier of a series of five polygonally concentric plinths rising upwards in receding tiers. These are basically square on plan, but a central projection on each side has broken the outline symmetrically and pleasingly into alternately advancing and retreating lines. In style it is comparable to the *stūpa* at Barabudur in Java and that of Bodhanatha at Kathmandu, described elsewhere in these pages.

The hoary antiquity of the terraced temple in distant Iraq and the possibility of the transmission of the form and idea through many intermediate links to Gandhara and thence to India have been indicated. The priority of the date of some of the Indian specimens, and the possibility of a directional trend from these quarters, in view of the entrenched tradition and shape of Asokan *stūpas*² as far away as Lalitpur (Patan), near Kathmandu, is an arresting phenomenon and would be deserving of some consideration. The fact of the possible structural influence from the days of Asoka gains support from the evidence of the inscribed Asokan pillars at Lumbini and Nigalihawa recording the fact of Asoka's personal visit to the regions, well within the borders of Nepal.

¹Will Durant, *The Story of Civilization (Our Oriental Heritage)*, 1942, p. 741; Dietrich Seckel, *op. cit.*, p. 115. This point has been mentioned before on p. 93 ante.

²This tradition can either be totally dislodged or established by an actual excavation of these *stūpas*. The fact that the Piprahwa *stūpa* containing some skeletal remains of the Buddha himself has been excavated, would perhaps be a strong argument against any sentimental objection to the undertaking of excavations on these *stūpas* in Nepal, the personal and chronological associations of which are unknown and presently only a matter of surmise, often coloured by subjective thoughts, which leads one nowhere.

As to when the multiple roofs were devised or got incorporated with the terraced temple form in Nepal, the evidence is not clear. Balakrishna Sama's views¹ have been mentioned before (p. 96).

The occasional preferences for the terraced form of the temples in the different parts of South-East Asia has indeed to be traced to India from where the religious beliefs that at once inspired and sustained the temple forms also emanated.

The case of Barabudur in Java (Indonesia) (fig. 7) is unique, as some overall parallelism is indicated between it and the Bodhanatha *stūpa*. (pl. VI) beyond Chabahil, near Kathmandu. Apart from the as-yet-unestablished date factor of this Nepalese *stūpa*, the lack of intermediate links, and the minutiae of differences between the two would *prima facie* preclude any interconnexion.

Thus it may be stated that while the evidence for the emergence, evolution and expansion of the *edūka* or multiple-terraced structures can be worked out fairly satisfactorily, tracing it to early *stūpa* architecture, it is not possible as yet to trace fully either the emergence and evolution of the multiple-roofed form of the superstructure, except in its simplest form of the ridged roof of the Vedic times, or the incorporation of the latter with the former, notwithstanding the basic interconnexion between the two. Nevertheless, the fact of the origin of both the elements in India is obvious.

The development of the multiple-roofed form in temple architecture has, however, been traced back to [the Gupta period in Sarnath by Professor Saraswati with its flowering in Bengal.

It can, however, be safely stated that Nepal was the meeting ground of the *edūka* tradition on the one hand and the multiple roofs on the other. As the latter feature

¹Balakrishna Sama, '*Nepālī Maṇḍapa Śailīko Utpatti ra Vikās*, *Nepālī Lalit Kalā*, Annual No., 2023, pp. 9-12.

In this context it would be interesting to consider the view of Coomaraswamy (*op. cit.*, 1927, p. 147) that "these edifices preserve the elements of much older styles, of which the monuments are no longer preserved in India; they illustrate too a halfway stage between Indian prototypes and Chinese derivatives". The opinion of Percy Brown (*op. cit.*, p. 162) on the same subject is of topical interest. To quote his words, "In the sphere of architecture, Nepal illustrates with marked significance, the impact of two of the most forceful civilizations in the East, that of India on the one hand, and of China on the other, the two meeting within the region of Nepal's mountainous borders". Though the two views are identical, proof is lacking to illustrate the contacts with China though the connections with Indian architectural prototypes are more than obvious.

Fergusson writing in 1876 (*op. cit.*, p. 280) held the erroneous view that the multiple-roofed temples were, "unlike anything found in Bengal, and all their affinities seem with those in Burma or China". The position has been reversed by the researches of Professor Saraswati.

Benjamin Rowland writing in 1953 (*op. cit.*, p. 158), however, saw an Indian inspiration traceable to the thirteen-storied and nearly 700 ft. (213 m.) high *stūpa* at Shahji-ki-Dheri.

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comes apparently rather later than the former into existence, the coalescence of the two¹ in Nepal is the result of the close links that existed between Nepal and India from the remotest times. The matter, however, has been dealt with extensively in the last chapter on "The Cultural Relations Between Nepal and India in their Bearing on Architecture".

¹That this form of architecture (*i.e.* the multiple-terraced *chaityas* or *stūpas* and temples) was necessitated mainly by the climatic factors has to be admitted. Incidentally, the use of the multiple terraces encouraged and enabled the Nepalese builders and, more importantly, those who primarily conceived and commissioned them, to secure at once a more imposing height for their religious edifices. The old sepulchral association of the *edūka* had long ago fallen into oblivion, and the feature became an architectural necessity and a basic and basal element of utility. The shape and profile of the tall towers that came to be built upon them in the multiple-roofed *devala* style were also dictated and conditioned both by the needs of equitable distribution of weight and proportion. The serrated outline and receding tiers were, therefore, natural corollaries, and in achieving the end-result, the factors of uniform distribution of the weight of the superstructure over a widening series of footings and the dictates of proportion for the supervening levels in a harmonious balance and juxtaposition were fully taken into account. This explains the durability and solidarity of the structures of all descriptions for centuries in Nepal.

Much has been expressed about the architectural plans following one or the other of Tantric *maṇḍala* by some exponents of Nepalese temple architecture. Even parallelisms have been drawn with the *maṇḍala* diagrams occurring on *paubhās* or *pātās*, presumably on the analogy of similar forms occurring on the Tibetan *Tāṅkā*s. But no architectural text of Nepalese origin or from any other source in support of the theory propounded about the so-called Tantric conception lying at the base of any or every constructional plan in Nepal appears to have been quoted. If the Tantric ideology were so commonly followed, it would mean that every Nepalese man, woman or child visiting a temple or a *chaitya* was or is a *Tāṅtrika* ! The author has not come across this astounding phenomenon during his six years' of sojourn in Nepal. Furthermore, this very conception militates against one of the fundamental principles of the believers in Tantra, which is nothing other than the practice of *Yoga*, to keep its secrets out of the reach and knowledge, not to speak of comprehension, of the uninitiated.

The practice of Tantra is supposed to be based on complete control over bodily functions and concentration of the mind (*chitta*) with the performance of *Yoga* (*chittavritti-nirodha*) in unison. This can only be done in the peace and quiet of privacy, and not commonly nor congregationally in a public place like the precincts of the temple under the curious gaze of the temple-goers. Moreover, the structural ensemble of temples, *stūpas* or *chaityas* in Nepal does not provide any ancillary structures as a safe and secluded shelter for such performances. All these are contra-indications against the generalized theory of Tantric association of all or most religious edifices in Nepal advocated by the exponents of this theory.

It is, however, not claimed, nor pressed by the present author that Tantric practices or concentration is not altogether possible for any practitioner to perform or achieve in a public place, howsoever disturbing and challenging to the powers of concentration it must apparently be. It is only suggested that such *sthitaprajña* practitioners are difficult to come by and rare. They would rather leave the common masses and their aspirations unaffected, even if they (the common masses) could all be armed, by a flight of imagination, even with the knowledge of the rudiments of Tantra or that all their structures, particularly the temples, are in effect Tantric diagrams in three dimensions ! This would apparently be too simplistic a phenomenon to be commended to the comprehension and credence of the readers.

contd.

The *sarvatobhadra* plan recommended in the *Vishṇudharmottara* for temples would, therefore, lend itself to explanation as a Tantric *maṇḍala par excellence* in all its simplicity, in its inspiration, import and communication, if the version of the exponents were true, for this form abounds in Nepal.

The statement and claim of Ronald M. Bernier, (*The Nepalese Pagoda*, New Delhi, 1979, pp. 117-8) that the craftsmen in the Kathmandu Valley carry construction manuals as guides for construction do not stop to indicate or vindicate that they have Tantric inspiration. His assertion, that "The *maṇḍala* is of Indian origin, but its use in Nepal is colored by both indigenous concerns and other foreign influences," is not substantiated.

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that the contemporary press is turning out a good deal of Tantra literature holding up the esoteric beatitude of sexuality as a panacea for all the ills of man. Purveyors of such knowledge serve themselves a neat quarry like peddlers of apodisiacs, notwithstanding the fact that conscientious eyebrows have often been raised in regard to the presence of erotic sculptures on religious edifices, such as at Khajuraho, or Konarak or even as disparate bronze figurines (Heruka or Sambara in Yab-yum posture) of later Buddhism. These are not to be interpreted as commendable examples of sexual bliss to be pursued in the course of religious practice. It is often lost sight of that the explanation of the sense of bliss experienced at the achievement of the supreme goal of life, in the form of union with the divine or absolute, is sought to be explained by the parallel, however inept or distracting it apparently is, of the sense of physical and consequential mental or psychological bliss arising from the physical communion between man and woman, as given in the *Upanishads*. The relevant passage from the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* (IV, 3, 21) is quoted below :

*Tad vā asyaitad atichchhando'pahatapāpmābhayaṁ
rūpam. tad yathā priyayā striyā samparishvakto
na bāhyaṁ kiṁ chana veda nāntaram. tad vā āsyaitad
āpta-kāmaṁ, a-kāmaṁ rūpam śokantaram.*

As Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan explains the underlying idea, common to the Vedic Hindus, Vaishnavas, Christians and Sufis, "The mystic union of the finite and divine is compared in this passage to the self-oblivion of earthly lovers where each is the other. It is a fuller identity than the more sympathetic understanding of two individuals". See Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upanisads*, London, 1953, pp. 261-3. Numerous other supporting passages can also be cited.

Radhakrishnan, however, goes on to elaborate (*ibid.*, p. 262), "the rich deep fulfilment of love between a man and a woman is a condition of earthly beatitude so simple, so natural and so real that it is the happiest of all earthly conditions and many mystics employ this as the symbol of divine communion".

CHAPTER VIII

THE PRESERVATION OF ARCHITECTURAL TRADITIONS IN NEPAL

1. INTRODUCTORY

It has been observed that Nepal is a rich store-house of a fantastic ensemble of a large miscellany of monuments in diverse forms. These have a distinct personality of their own, and a unified character despite the variations in features which the progress of time has imposed. They may not all be intact through the inexorable ravages of time. They are, nevertheless, considerably well preserved, thanks to the factors of climate and the paucity of external invasions and internal troubles alike. From time to time steps have been taken by private individuals, guilds or corporations and the kings to preserve, repair, enlarge or renovate the structures for the continuance of the functions for which they had been raised. These facts are recorded for posterity by the numberless inscriptions on stone slabs, wooden boards or brackets, copper plates, terracotta figurines, bronze images, pedestals of stone images or on pillars. The languages of these inscriptions have encompassed Prakrit, Nepali, Sanskrit, Newari, Maithili and Tibetan.

Though the inscriptions themselves are the records of the original constructions and periodical repairs, they form a category of monuments by themselves. In fact, along with all the structural remains they have served to make Nepal, especially the valley of Kathmandu, an open-air museum of the most unique variety in the world. To the same category belongs the large number of images or sculptures in stone, wood, clay, terracotta, copper, bronze or silver, which are associated with the monuments indicated above. The decorative features of the monuments in the form of carvings on the wooden panels and brackets used in the structures, or murals or scroll work are no less important and interesting as the artistic heritage of Nepal.

But the ravages of time and nature and the susceptibility of the human mind to amnesia and its innate disposition to lethargy stand in the way of our self-perpetuation through the preservation of our ancient monuments in their pristine condition. These forces have, therefore, to be consciously combatted if the human heritage should have any claim on preservation. One of the earliest soldiers in the cause of the conservation of human heritage was king Nabonidus, the Chaldean king of Babylon who ruled between 550 and 539 B.C. He opened up by excavation the base of the temple of Shamash at Sippar in Iraq, in the course of carrying out extensive repairs to the structure. To his pleasant surprise, he found the inscription engraved on stone of the initial construction of the temple by king Naramsin (*circa* 2291-2255 B.C.), son of Sargon I of Sumer. King Nabonidus had the facts of his own work engraved on the wall of the renovated temple.¹

The entire span of human history is replete with such instances of public undertakings of constructions and repairs of an extensively diverse miscellany of monuments. A good deal of this evidence has been thrown up by archaeological excavations as well as by the inscriptional and literary records of the past. These have indicated to us the various processes employed, the materials used, the duration of time involved in the work, the principles of work enunciated and adopted, the particular text or canon followed and of the alterations and additions to the existing structures made from time to time. These evidences, though not always inherently apparent, have retained, in fragments, the account of the evolution and development of the styles of art and architecture. In our own time conservation of our ancient heritage by undertaking structural repairs in situ or perserving them with all the means at our command against the inexorable process of natural decay is increasingly becoming a sophisticated and scientific technique of the specialist.

2. ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND INSCRIPTIONAL EVIDENCE OF THE PRESERVATION OF MONUMENTS

(i) *In India*

The tradition of the preservation of ancient monuments of all description is common to Nepal and India as also to the rest of the world. This arises out of various factors, though the desire for self-perpetuation of the donor amid the countless generations of posterity and the longing for religious merit have dominated them all.

Excavations have shown that some of the earliest people of the proto-historic period in India, namely, the Harappan settlers of Lothal in District Ahmedabad, Gujarat, have spared no pains to preserve their existence against the ravages of the floods in the adjoining river Bhogavo by raising the level of the city periodically as a safety device.²

¹Seton Lloyd, *Twin Rivers*, 1943, pp. 72-73.

²*Indian Archaeology 1956-57-A Review*, p. 15.

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Archaeology has indicated that the earliest settlers of the city of Hastinapura, in District Meerut, Uttar Pradesh were obliged to abandon their dwellings after they had been washed away by disastrous floods from the Ganga flowing nearby. Archaeological evidence, buttressed by literary evidence, has indicated again that the dwellers of Hastinapura then shifted to a place called Kausambi, on the bank of the Yamuna to the west of Allahabad.¹

The discovery of the monastery of Ghoshitārāma at Kausambi², as indicated by inscribed slab found associated with the structure is the course of excavation, has shown that the monastery was built at the time of Buddha, in keeping with the Buddhist tradition, and was kept in use throughout the subsequent centuries through sixteen successive phases of structural activity in the form of repairs and extensions.³

One of the earliest conservators in the history of the subcontinent, was king Asoka himself. Not only did he help the cause of the propagation of Buddhism by sending out missionaries in different directions even to distant lands of the west, he also gave instructions, in practical pursuit of a good religious life, by having them engraved on rocks and pillars as his edict. The purpose of his engraving the religious edicts were clearly indicated in the sixth rock edict⁴ where he said that this was done so that they may last for a long time and that his successors may follow the instructions in the future for the welfare of all. He did it out of a sense of royal duty by his subjects, for his motto was the promotion of the welfare of his subjects, and no less out of a desire for alleviating his own indebtedness to his subjects, as well as for their happiness in this life as well as in the other.

Asoka is also responsible for rendering historicity to the belief of the Buddhists in the existence of the previous Buddhas, by repairing and enlarging the *stūpa* of Buddha Kanakamuni in the fifteenth year after his coronation (*i.e.*, in 255 B.C.)⁵. He has also preserved for posterity the record of the identification of the birth-place of Buddha at Lumbini (Western Nepal) by raising a pillar at the spot and having it inscribed with the fact of his having visited the sacred spot and worshipped there in the 21st year after his coronation (*i.e.*, in 249 B.C.)⁶

That the tradition introduced by Asoka continued through the subsequent centuries is borne out by numerous inscriptional records. Kharavela, well known to

¹B.B. Lal, 'Excavation at Hastinapura and other Explorations', *Ancient India*, Nos. 10 and 11, pp. 14-15; F.E. Pargiter, *Dynastic History of the Kali Age*, p. 5; N.R. Banerjee, *The Iron Age in India*, New Delhi, 1965, pp. 28-29.

²G.R. Sharma, *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Kern Institute, Leiden, 1948-53, pp. XLIV-XLV.

³*Indian Archaeology*, 1955-56—A Review, p. 20.

⁴D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, 2nd edition, Calcutta. pp. 24-26.

⁵*Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁶*Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

posterity through his record of the Hathigumpha inscription, describes himself in the record as a conservator of all religious edifices,¹ apart from indicating the various works in this direction carried out by him.

But the most interesting account of continued repairs to a lake, which served generations of men through centuries, relate to the original bunding of Lake Sudarśana at the time of Chandragupta Maurya towards the end of the 4th century B.C. and its repairs in the successive centuries, first during the reign of the Saka Satrap Rudradaman in A.D. 150² and again at the time of Skandagupta in A.D. 456³.

(ii) In Nepal

In Nepal too, apart from the two records of Asoka referred to above, there are innumerable instances of repairs carried out to her diverse miscellany of monuments throughout the entire span of recorded history. The earliest known inscription in Nepal, other than the Asokan inscription at Nigali Sagar and Lumbini, is the Changu Narayan stone pillar inscription of king Manadeva and it is dated to the year 386, which works out to A.D. 464⁴. The entire evidence under consideration is, therefore, posterior to this date. One of the earliest inscriptions to record the repairs to a temple is the Patan Sundhara stone slab inscription of Amsuvarman dated in the year 34 (i.e., A.D. 629) giving the details of the repairs to a temple at the village Māṭiṅgrāma. The record incidentally tells us that the temple had been built of bricks (*iṣṭaka*) and were fitted with windows and doors of wood, indicating that the temple was in all probability of the so-called pagoda or *devala* style. Though, the temple was repaired,

¹*Ibid.*, p. 221. Kharavela describes himself as *sarvadevāyatana-saṃskāra-kāraka*.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 175-180. The facts recorded in the Junagadh Rock inscription of Rudradaman of the year 72 (i.e., A.D. 150), states that the lake was originally excavated by the Rāshtriya Pushyagupta during the rule of Chandragupta Maurya. It was thereafter connected with channels (*prañālī*) by the Greek Governor Tushashpa during the rule of Asoka. It was damaged at the time of Rudradaman, the Saka Kshatrpa of western India, in A.D. 150 by heavy rainfall, disastrous winds and floods in the rivers Palāsīnī, Suvarṇa and Sikatā, and the bund which was 420 cubits long and accounted for a depth of 75 cubits was restored and rendered three times as strong it had been before, both in the length and breadth, and made much more attractive to look at. The works were executed by Suviśākha the administrator (*amātya*) of the region (Gujarat and Saurashtra), a Parthian in the employ of Rudradaman, within a short time after the damage, for the welfare of his subjects. He carried out these works out of his own funds and did not tax the subjects for it in the form of money or forced labour.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 312-314. The bunds so strongly strengthened by Rudradaman in A.D. 150 were breached again by floods in the year 136 (A.D. 455). They were once again repaired in the course of two months by the governor of the region, Chakrapalita, son of Parnadatta, under the Gupta emperor Skandagupta, in the year 137 (A.D. 456), by the expenditure of an enormous amount of money. The breach had affected the bund to a length of 100 cubits and to a width of 68 cubits. It is interesting to note that the record of the repairs is described as the *Sudarśana-taṭāka grantha-rachanā* and anticipates the modern practice of maintaining a log book of additions, alterations and repairs to a monument carried out by the executive agencies in charge.

⁴R. Gnoli, *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters*, Rome, 1956, Part I, pp. 1-5.

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apparently at the expense of the state exchequer, the king donated, in perpetuity, some land for its maintenance for a long time (*dirghatarapaśchādkālasausthitya-nimittam*).¹

Likewise there are numerous records of the repairs carried out from time to time to the Paśupati temple at Deopatan, the religious institution *par excellence* of the Hindu Kingdom of Nepal. It is of course unknown, despite the claims of later literature² for a hoary antiquity for its original construction in times immemorial, when the temple was first built. The earliest inscriptional reference to its existence occurs, however, in the Hadigaon stone slab inscription of Amsuvarman of the year 30.³ The reference, however, is indirect as *Śrī Mahāsāmanta* Amsuvarman is described therein as graced by the feet of Lord Paśupati. This, however, can be interpreted as indicative of the temple having come into existence prior to the date of the record, *i.e.*, A.D. 625, though the point cannot be asserted.

It has already been suggested earlier that an event of considerable importance associated with the year A.D. 879⁴ must have happened so as to justify the introduction then of a new era in Nepal and designating it as the *Paśupati bhāṭṭāraka saṁvatsara*. It is tentatively suggested, therefore, that the temple may have been rebuilt at this time and its style changed from that of a *śikhara* style to its present multiple-roofed form.

It has also been pointed out that the temple was subject to the ravages of the forces of Sultan Shamsuddin Ilyas of Bengal in the year A.D. 1349, when the image itself was shattered by the vandals into three bits.⁵

It has already been stated earlier that the temple and image were restored by A.D. 1360 by Mahamantri Jayasimharamavardhana.⁶

¹*Ibid.*, p. 53.

²The *Gopālarājavarṇāvalī*, written in the 14th century attributes the construction of the temple to an ancestor of Manadeva.

³Gnoli, *op. cit.*, p. 48. The existence of a Viṣṇu temple enshrining an image of *Viṣṇu-Vikrāntamūrti* at Tilganga on the opposite bank of the Bagmati near the temple of Paśupati (Gnoli, pp. 6-7) from A.D. 467; of a temple of Anuparameśvara in the premises of the Paśupati temple from A.D. 540 (Gnoli, p. 23) and of the erection of a large number of a temples of *Jayeśvara* (*ibid.*, p. 11), dated A.D. 491, temples of *Śūrabhogēśvara*, *Laṭita Maheśvara* and *Dakṣiṇēśvara*, respectively, from the time of Amsuvarman (year 39 or A.D. 634, vide Gnoli, *ibid.*, p. 56) would indicate the possibility (not proof) of the coming into existence of the Paśupati temple at an earlier date.

⁴This era was founded by Raghavadeva and has been also tentatively held by some scholars to mark the deliverance from the galling yoke of the Tibetans over Nepal. The era was adopted later by the Malla kings and came to be known as the *Nepāla Saṁvatsara*.

⁵The fact of the destruction of the Paśupati temple or its image or both by Shamsuddin Ilyas is indicated in the Pimbahal stone slab inscription of the year 479, *i.e.*, A.D. 1358 (D.R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, III, p. 19), which states that the cities of Nepal were reduced to ashes by the Muslim king, Sultan Shamsuddin. The same evidence is also borne out by the Swayambhu Chaitya stone slab inscription of the year of 492 *i.e.*, A.D. 1371. The latter records the date of the invasion as 470 or A.D. 1349 (*ibid.*, pp. 21-24). The *Gopālarājavarṇāvalī*, compiled during the reign of Jaya Sthitimalla, *i.e.*, about 40 years after the devastating event, states that Lord Paśupati was split into three (*Purnimā*, No. 8, p. 7).

⁶Kathmandu Itambahal stone slab inscription of Jayasimharamavardhana of the year 502 (A.D. 1382). See also foot-note no. 1 on page 85 ante.

As to the possibility of the antiquity of the temple of Paśupati going back to at least the 5th century, there is plenty of direct and indirect evidence. The Paśupati temple stone slab inscription¹ occurring on the pedestal of a *liṅga* standing opposite to the northern door of the temple describes the installation of the *liṅga* (including presumably a temple) by one Jayavarman during the reign of Manadeva, in the year 413 (A.D. 491). The *liṅga* was designated by the permission of the king after the name of the donor as *Jayeśvara*.

The inscription on the pedestal of a *liṅga* near the quadrangle of the Paśupati temple raised by one lady called Ābhirī, of the year 462, *i.e.*, A.D. 540, would point to the prior existence of the temple of Paśupati and the importance of the nuclear area around which the other smaller temples were built (Gnoli, p. 23).

It is not clear if the temple of Paśupati underwent large damages again and had to be reconstructed *do novo* by king Mahendramalla.

The Paśupati temple stone slab inscription of king Parthivendramalla of the year 799 N.S. (September 1679), describes the former as the creator of a jewel of a temple (*prāsādaratnam*)² to a deity who was the cause of the birth and existence of the universe. Unless this refers to the construction of the Tulajā Bhavānī temple at Kathmandu this would point to an unlikely reconstruction of the Paśupati temple indeed.

The Paśupati temple stone slab inscription³ of the year 533 N.S., *i.e.*, A.D. 1412, refers to the erection of a golden *kalasa* and flag serving jointly as the finial by king Jyotirmalla who was son of Dharmamalla and father of Yakshamalla. That the image in the *liṅga* had five faces including the invisible aspect of Īśāna is indicated by the words "*Paramapaśupatiṃ pañchavaktraṃ svarūpaṃ-taṃ devaṃ naumi nityam*".

The Paśupati stone inscription of the year 775 N.S., *i.e.*, A.D. 1654, describes the gift by king Pratapamalla of a golden finial to the temple of Paśupati.⁴ This would imply that the finial gifted by King Jyotirmalla more than 200 years ago must have been damaged during the interval so as to justify the need for a new finial.

Pratapamalla is also credited with the construction of the Aryaghat flanking the western bank of the Bagmati abutting the eastern side of the premises of the temple of Paśupati.⁵

The woodwork in the Paśupati temple having been eaten up by termites the temple had to be totally reconstructed with the introduction of new woodwork during the reign of king Bhupalendramalla. This is recorded in a *Thyasaphu*⁶ which describes the

¹The temple is called *Jayeśvara*, Gnoli, *op. cit.*, No. VII, p. 11.

²Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, IV, pp. 182-4.

³*Ibid.*, III, pp. 47-50.

⁴*Ibid.*, IV, pp. 95-97.

⁵Somnath Sharma, *Sudhār Kārya Vivaraṇa*, p. 4.

⁶*Pūrnimā*, Year 1, No. 3, pp. 43-44.

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restoration work by the king in association with his mother, Riddhilakshmi in the year A.D. 1696. The entire work took seven months to complete.

To king Prithvinarayana Shah¹ is attributed the construction of the wooden bridge across the stream, Dhobi Khola, to make it suitable for the people of Kathmandu to cross the river conveniently and offer worship at the feet of Lord Paśupati. Though it is not directly connected with the temple, such ancillary works anticipate measures of conservation adopted in modern times which often provide for the laying out of an approach path and preserving the pristine environment.

It was during the time of Rajendra Bikram Shah that extensive repairs were carried out to the steps of Aryaghat and the steps leading to the Guhyeśvarī temple and the resting places for the persons brought to the place on the eve of their death, by Jung Bahadur in the 19th century.

The white marble slabs employed on the floor of the temple of Paśupati were introduced by Ranoddip, during his Prime Ministership towards the end of the 19th century. This is out of keeping with the principles of preserving the pristine form of structures.

The roofs of the temple of Paśupati were once again repaired with gilt copper plates, which has been existing from the times of Nripendramalla, by Chandra Samsher Jung Bahadur Rana in A.D. 1925. It was at this time that the woodwork was painted in bright colour as a decorative-cum-protective measure.

Subsequently, during the reign of the late king Mahendra, the temple proper and subsidiary shrines were repaired and cleaned. The woodwork was painted afresh. The western gate which serves as the main entrance was enlarged to its present size in the shape of a *gopuram*. The entrance gate on the eastern side at the head of the staircase leading from the Aryaghat was also enlarged to its present size.

The doors and woodworks of the temple proper were covered with ornamental silverwork variously during the times of Rana Bahadur Shah and Girvan Yuddha Bikram Shah. The silverwork of the southern gate of the temple proper is attributed to General Bhimsen Thapa, Prime Minister, during the reigns of Rana Bahadur and Girvan Yuddha Bikram Shah. The fact is recorded in an inscription on the *torana* on the southern entrance to the temple.

These silverworks, having suffered some damage in the course of years, were cleaned, repaired and reset in 1967, and some additional silver work was gifted by the late King Mahendra.²

It will be clear to see that inscriptions and written records have preserved the accounts of the repairs, additions, and alterations carried out to the temple and the subsidiary shrines and structures forming the temple complex from the remotest times known to the present day.

¹The following account is available in *Sudha: Kāśya Khāṇḍa* compiled by Somnath Sharma, pp. 4-5.

²The author was associated with these works as technical adviser in his capacity as Archaeological Adviser to His Majesty's Government of Nepal.

It should be possible to write up a complete account of the construction and periodical repairs carried out to most other monuments of Nepal on the basis of the information available in the inscriptions.

3. INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NEPAL AND INDIA IN THE FIELD

A comparative study of the inscriptions of Nepal and India would indicate a striking similarity between the preservation of ancient monuments in the two countries of Nepal and India. This is established also by the comparable motives of construction and repairs, the endowments made for the purpose of repairs and the curses pronounced upon those who tamper with the arrangements of endowments and the words used for repairs such as *jirṇoddhāra* or *saṃskārākārya* etc. The attendant aspects of repairs as borne out by the inscriptions are dealt with below. One of the earliest texts to deal with the subject of repairs is the *Manusmṛiti* dated to the middle of the first millennium B.C. It is respected commonly by Nepal and India as a source of legal provisions. It prescribes that any one who causes damage to a bridge, the flagstaff of a temple, or images etc. must carry out the repairs to the damaged parts at his own expense.¹ This injunction anticipates the notices issued under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Acts of India² and Nepal, providing for punishment in the form of a fine or imprisonment or both for those in any way damaging or disfiguring the protected monuments in the two countries.

4. THE PURPOSE OF CONSTRUCTION REPAIRS OF MONUMENTS

(i) In India

The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela attributes the excavation of caves in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills near Bhuvaneswara in Orissa for the shelter of monks.³

The Kanakhera stone slab inscription of the 13th regnal year of Sridharavarma (*i.e.*, circa A.D. 279), refers to the excavation by the king of a well for the purpose of the welfare, prosperity, eternal life in heaven, piety and renown.⁴

The Gunda stone slab inscription of Rudrasimha I of the year 103 (*i.e.*, A.D. 181) refers to the excavation of a tank and the binding of its embankments for the welfare and happiness of all the public.⁵ Many more instances of such constructions and the

¹*Manusmṛiti*, IX, 285. Also see J.N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Second Edition, 1956, p. 87.

²The Act in force in India is now called Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act of 1958.

³D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-18. The words in Prakrit are as follows :

Terasame cha vase Sipavate-vijaya-chake Kumāripavate arhate(hi) pakhinasaṃ(si)tehi kāyanisī diyāya yāpūāvakehi rājabhitini china-vatāni vāsā(si)tani pūjanuratauvā (saga-khā)ravelasirinā jīvadeha (sayi)kā parikhātā.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 186-87.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 181-82. The words used are *vāpī (khā)nīta bandhāpitāscha sarvasattvānāṃ hitasukhārthamiti //*

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purpose of construction in each case can be cited throughout the course of history. The purpose of the construction of a temple, the excavation of a cave, tank or the erection of a *mandapa* and such other monuments was always for the use of the people and at the same time to promote the welfare and piety of the donor or his relations, likewise the repairs to such institutions of public utility were similarly motivated.

(ii) In Nepal

In Nepal too temples, palaces, *stūpas* and *chaityas*, watercourses (water conduits) or an image were set up for comparable purposes of use by the public and the welfare of the donor or his parents, children and other relatives.

The benefits expected from the construction and repairs to a temple are indicated in the Paśupati temple stone slab inscription of the year 462 (i.e., A.D. 940) referring to the erection of the temple of Śiva designated as Anuparameśvara. The purpose was the increase of the religious merits of the children and husband of the donating lady, named Ābhirī as well as for their material pleasures, long life and freedom from illness.¹

That the motive of construction and repairs of a religious institution such as a temple was not always the promotion of selfish interests is indicated by the benedictory lines in the (Bhaktapur Taumadhitol inscription of Jagajjyotimalla, of the year 674, i.e., A.D. 1553). The lines pray for the health and welfare of all and sundry and prosperity of the land through timely rains². The temple of Āgama Deva referred to in the inscription was constructed in the year 530 (i.e., A.D. 1409) and repaired in year 674 (i.e., A.D. 1553).

The purpose of the installation of an image of Vishnu, or Krishna in the case, is indicated by the Changu Narayana stone inscription of the year 296 (i.e., A.D. 1175) of king Amrita. It was intended to promote the attainment of heaven by his brother Vijayadeva, and also for the eternal happiness of the people. There is also a reference to the vicarious purpose of such constructions contained in the inscription.³ The purpose of repairs in general is the same as that of the original construction.

The purpose of the excavation of a tank and the benefits occurring from it are indicated in the Dullu stone slab inscription of the year 1276 Saka era, i.e., A.D. 1354, of Devavarman during the reign of Prithvimalla. The tank together with 5 *chaityas* was installed for the use and welfare of all living creatures and for providing shelter and rest to weary travellers on their march.⁴

The purpose of the repairs to the *chaitya* of Dharmadhātu Vajravarā at Nhol Vihara, Patan, is contained in the inscription associated with the *chaitya*, of the

¹R. Gnoli, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

²Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 11-12.

³Abhilekha Samgraha, No. 2, p. 13. The relevant portion runs as follows: *pragyanānā lokaḥ pūṣṭi sukhi bhavatu sarvadā |*

⁴Sanskrit Sandeśa, No. 11, p. 54.

year 481(i.e., A.D. 1360). It prays for the attainment of Buddhahood and the welfare of all people.¹

The purpose of the construction (and naturally of repairs) of a temple dedicated in this case of Bhavānī-Śaṅkara in Bhaktapur is indicated in a gilt plate fixed on the wall of the entrance of the Taleju Chok in the Durbar Square (Bhaktapur) of the year 787, i.e., A.D. 1666. The construction of the temple was intended to promote long life, freedom from diseases, attainment of sevenfold royal welfare in this life and attainment of heaven in the other world. In general terms the inscription also states that whoever builds a temple of the gods with care attains enormous fame in keeping with his traditions and he resides after death in the heavens and is reborn on earth in course of time as an emperor.²

Many more instances of the exact purpose and benefits of the constructions and repairs of monuments can be cited. The purpose generally was as much utilitarian as to promote the welfare in this life as well as hereafter of the donor and his relatives, as well as the general prosperity of the people and subjects of kings and rulers.

5. THE ARRANGEMENTS AND PROVISIONS OF REPAIRS

(i) General

The construction of a temple, *chaitya* or a monastery carries with it the responsibility for the long life of the institution as much for the conduct of ritual functions associated with worship etc. Such monuments as well as institutions of public utility such as wells or tanks have usually been raised by kings or rich donors. As the purpose of such constructions was generally to promote the all round welfare of all and sundry and also for the donor, the donors have usually taken care to provide endowments of land as a steady source of income for the conduct of the ritual functions and the maintenance and repairs of the structures concerned.

The inscriptions of Asoka have shown him as a repairer or restorer of ancient monuments. King Kharavela described himself as the repairer of religious structures. The repairs were, therefore, carried out from time to time as an *ad hoc* undertaking under the orders of the king, out of the state funds. In the olden days there was no central or regular organization for the carrying out of repairs. Inscriptional evidences show diversely that such works were often carried out by guilds called variously as *goshthi* or *pāñchālikā* or the villagers, sometimes the works were entrusted to a Project Officer called as the Navakarmika.

(ii) In India

There is considerable similarity in the practice of making endowments and arrangements for repairs between Nepal and India.

¹Hemraj Sakya and T.R. Vaidya, *Medieval Nepal*, p. 64.

²*Abhilekha Saṁgraha*, No. 7, pp. 21-3.

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One of the earliest records of the endowment of an entire village for the purpose of the maintenance, preservation and expansion (*i.e.*, addition or alteration) of the cave dwellings near Nasik in District Nasik, Maharashtra, is contained in the Nasik cave inscription of Vasishthiputra Pulumayi of the year 22 (*i.e.*, A.D. 152).¹ The grant of the caves to those designated as *Bhadrāyṇiya* were to be administered by a guild or a corporate body (*nikāya*). The village so granted was rendered free from diverse taxes so that the entire income could be used for the purpose for which the grant was made.

The Sanchi stone inscription² of Chandragupta II of the year 93 (*i.e.*, A.D. 412), refers to the purchase of an entire village or locality called *Īśvaravāsaka* and its transference by a gift to a corporate body called *pañchamaṇḍalī* on behalf of the Ārya Saṃgha residing in the *Kākanāda-bota-mahāvihāra*, obviously for the purpose of the maintenance of the establishment, including its preservation and repairs. The land gift in question was accompanied by an outright gift of 25 *dīnāras* in cash.

The Baigram copper plate inscription of the Gupta year 128 (*i.e.*, A.D. 448) records the grant of land for offer of incense, burning of lamp and collection of flowers for daily rituals, besides repairs to the temple of Govindaswami (Vishṇu) at Panchanagari.³

The Bhamodra-Mohota copper plate inscription of Dronasiṃha of the Gupta-Valabhi year 183 (*i.e.*, A.D. 502), found in the Bhavnagar District of Gujarat, also refers to a similar endowment for the conduct of worship of Viśvadevas with the offer of sacrifices and cooked rice and the offering of incense, lamp oil and garlands, besides the repairs to the fallen and ruined parts of the damaged temple.⁴

(iii) In Nepal

In Nepal there are numerous records to indicate the arrangements and endowments made for the execution of repairs to monuments.

One of the earliest inscriptions in Nepal making an endowment for the maintenance of a public utility service institution and entrusting it to a guild or *pāñchālikā* is the Balambu stone slab inscription of the year 55 (*i.e.*, A.D. 645) during the reign of Bhimarjunadeva of the Lichchhavi dynasty. The inscription relates to the installation of a *dhārā* or water course (*jalapranālī*) yielding cool and pure water at the Jolpiṇ village and the endowment of land, rendered free from the obligation of the oil tax, and entrusting the grant as well as the responsibility for maintenance to the *pāñchālikās* of the Jolpiṇ village.⁵

¹Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-9.

²*Ibid.*, p. 281. In footnote No. 7 on p. 281, Sircar compares the *pañchamaṇḍalī* of the inscription to a *pāñchaka* of the Nepalese inscriptions.

³*Ibid.*, p. 356-57. The words used for repairs in the inscription are (*kha*)ṇḍa *phuṭṭa-pratisaṃskāra-nāya*. Baigram is the ancient name of Bogra (Bagurā) in District Dinajpur, Bangladesh.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 428. The words used for repairs are *devakulasya cha patitaviśīrṇa-pratisaṃskaraṇa*.

⁵Gnoli, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

The record cited above echoes the arrangements for the repairs to the temple of Anuparameśvara in the premises of the Paśupati temple at Kathmandu (Deopatan) in the year 462 (i.e., A.D. 540).

The temples of Laḍita Mahādeva, Surabhogeśvara and Dakṣiṇeśvara were entrusted to the Adhaśāla Pāñchālikā for maintenance (*pratipālanāya*), as recorded in the stone slab inscription in the Gaṇeśa temple in Deopatan near the Paśupati temple.¹

The Patan Sundhara stone slab inscription of the year 34 of Mahasamanta Amsuvarman (i.e., of the year A.D. 629) records the gift of land in perpetuity to the *pāñchālikas* of Māṭiṅgrāma for the maintenance and repairs of the temple called Māṭiṇdevakulam after the due consecration of large-scale repairs carried out to the temple obviously under royal patronage and supervision.²

The Kathmandu Lagantol stone slab inscription of time of Sivadeva II of the year 119 (i.e., A.D. 714) refers to the endowment in perpetuity of land for the maintenance of the Śivadeśvara temple in Vaidyagrāma. The land was rendered free of many obligatory dues and entrusted to the Pāśupatāchāryas who were devoted to the king.³

The Patan Valatol water-conduit inscription of the year 392 (i.e., A.D. 1271) engraved during the reign of a king called Rudra entrusted the preservation of the water-conduit to the corporate body (*goshthika*) concerned with keeping the streets clean and gave three *ropanīs* of land for this purpose. One of the immediate tasks of this corporate body was to erect a roof or cover of slabs over a support of four pillars.⁴

The Kathmandu Yetkhatol Śiva temple inscription on a stone slab of the year 763 (i.e., A.D. 1642) describes the erection of a Śiva temple called Pūrṇeśvara, named after Pūrṇamalla, and the endowment of 62 *ropanīs* of land by his son Bhimamalla, for the conduct of several ritual functions associated with the institution, besides the carrying out of contingent repairs to the damages suffered by the temple.⁵

According to the Kathmandu Dhokabahal stone slab inscription of the 812 (i.e., A.D. 1691) of the time of King Bhupalendramalla, the repairs to the Hemākra Mahāvihāra were stated to have been carried out according to established principles (*yathāśāstroktapramāṇa*).⁶ What these principles were have not, however, been

¹Ibid., p. 56.

²Ibid., p. 53.

³Ibid., p. 107. The relevant words used for the purpose are as follows :

Yathāyaṅgrāmaḥ...svakārītaśrīśivadeveśvaram bhaṭṭārakan nimittīkritya taddevakulakhaṇḍaphuṭi-tasamskāra-kāraṇāya vaśa-pāśupatāchāryebhyaḥ pratipāditāḥ.

⁴Abhilekha Saṁgraha, No. 2, p. 13.

⁵Regmi, op. cit., IV, pp. 79-80. The words used for the repairs are as follows : 'Śivālaya bhagna sphuṭita nirmāṇa kārayitum cha'.

⁶Ibid., p. 217.

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specified. The procedure of repairs must, presumably, have followed the practice of new construction.

The Patan Durbar Square stone slab inscription attached to the Maṇimaṇḍapa of the year 821 narrates an account of the repairs to the Maṇimaṇḍapa carried out by one Narahari, serving as a Project Officer at the behest of the king Yoganarendramalla in the year 821 (*i.e.*, A.D. 1700). The repairs carried out were apparently in the form of a complete renovation as it was made to be *nūtanam*.¹ It was obviously a case of renovation.

The inscriptional records in general, including those cited above, do not usually indicate if the repairs brought about a complete change in style, material, size or outline. It can generally be inferred that *jirṇoddhāra* or *pratisaṃskāra* actually meant restoration or reconstruction, but not merely the limited repairs to the affected part. This aspect of the matter will also be apparent from the processes of reconstruction or restoration adopted for prolonging the life of a religious or other utilitarian edifice as given in following paragraphs.

It was not merely the structures that were restored from time to time, sculptures were also replaced periodically. The case of the two images of *Vishṇuvikrāntamūrti* with an identical inscription of 389 (*i.e.*, A.D. 467)² of the time of Mañadeva would establish the point. The earlier of the two, now displayed at the National Museum in Kathmandu, having worn out presumably necessitated the carving of a new figure. The stylistic difference between the two would indicate a time lag of some duration.

The case of the replacement of the *liṅga* and temple of Paśupati has been cited above. The present image of Paśupati is stylistically conforming to the style prevalent at the time of its restoration. The Patan Sikubahi Umā-Maheśvara inscription of the time of Babhruvarma³ has brought out an interesting tradition of making clay images in the earlier days. The proneness of clay to damage and destruction led to the adoption of the practice of raising images in stone for the sake of durability. In fact, the inscription actually refers to the replacement of the previously existing clay images with those of stone. It may be hazarded as a guess that the earlier images of clay were not probably hardened by being subjected to firing as this alone would have imparted

¹*Ibid.*, pp. 234-35. This is an inscription indicating the appointment of an intermediary for the execution of the repairs. The Devnimori stone casket inscription of the time of Rudrasena I (A.D. 205) mentions a class of officers called *kārmāntika*, who were supervisors of construction works. See Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1965, p. 519, footnote no. 4.

²Gnoli, *op. cit.*, p. 6. One of them, the worn out one was found at Lajimpat. The other one, probably still standing near its ancient location, is at Tilganga on the eastern bank of the Bagmati, on the opposite side of the temple of Paśupati.

³The inscription, together with a translation, has been published in the *Purṇimā*. The inscription in the context of the images of Umā-Maheśvara in *Ancient Nepal*, No. 4, pp. 40-41 may also please be seen.

some strength to them and prevented their earlier damage, which appears to have taken place owing to its inherent and intrinsic weakness.

The Tilganga specimen of the *Vishṇuvikrāntamūrti* being at variance with the composition and details of the Lajimpat image would indicate that there was no great solicitude at the time for exact reproduction with a view to preserving the pristine form of the object of worship. The purpose of restoration clearly was not the preservation of artistic style for its own sake but to serve primarily the utilitarian needs of worship. The same outlook must have influenced the reconstruction or restoration of monuments of other categories.

There are indeed quite a few records of the change of style introduced in a monument in the course of repairs.

The Patan Valakhu stone slab inscription in the premises of the Gaṇeśa temple of the year 805 (i.e., A.D. 1684) states that the brick-built temple which was formerly of two storeys, has been given a third storey.¹

The inscriptional records have preserved the contemporaneously current name of the *śikhara* style of temple as the *granthakūṭa devāla*. The Patan Narasimha temple inscription of the year 710 (i.e., A.D. 1589) describes the gift of the temple in the *granthakūṭa style*² and this is clearly the name of the *śikhara* style in which the temple stands today.

The Sankhu Vajrayogini temple, which was built in the year 775 (i.e., A.D. 1654) by Pratapamalla³ was modified by changing it into a three-roofed temple⁴, by Bhaskaramalla in the year 832 (i.e., A.D. 1711). These records come very near to the log books usually maintained nowadays to keep a record of the repairs including changes, if any, carried out to any monument as a customary practice.

6. PRONOUNCEMENT OF CURSE UPON THOSE WHO TAMPER WITH THE ENDOWMENTS

(i) General

The *Manusmṛiti*, as we have observed, has enjoined that those who damage any temple or damage must restore it at his own expense.⁵ The *Mahābhārata* has pronounced a terrible curse⁶ upon those who tamper with the endowment for

¹Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 203.

²*Ibid.*, p. 36.

³*Ibid.*, p. 93. The relevant part of the inscription reads as follows: *Devadevyāḥ kshitipatilakāḥ śrīkavīndra-Pratāpashprāsādasya pratishṭhām kanakamayaghaṭa sthāpanamvai vidadhyāt.*

⁴*Purṇimā*, No. 12, p. 33.

⁵*Manusmṛiti*, IX, 285.

⁶*Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsana Parva, 62, verse 3150.

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the preservation of any temple or comparable structure. The curse is invoked with equal gusto, in both India and Nepalese inscriptions, from very early times.

(ii) In India

Sylvain Levi indicated that the curse occurs for the first time in a charter of king Hastin of the year 156 Gupta era, which works out to A.D. 475.¹ But the curse is found to occur in several earlier inscriptions as well.

The Sanchi stone inscription of the year 93 Gupta era, i.e., A.D. 412, of Chandragupta II² bears a curse upon those who tamper with the endowment of the village of Īśvaravāsaka to the Pañchamaṇḍalī for the use of the Āryasaṅgha in these words :

(Ta) *detatpravrittān ya uchchhindyāt sa go-brahmahatyayā saṁyukto bhavet pañchabhischānanyairiti.*

It means that whoever tampers with the endowment will incur the sin of having slain a cow and Brahmin and of having committed the five sins of matricide (*mātrighāta*), parricide (*pitrighāta*), killing of an *arhant* (*arhantaghāta*), the shedding of the blood of Buddha (*lohituppāda*), causing dissensions among the monks (*saṁghabhedo*) and following other teachers (*aññasaithuddeśo*).

The curse as contained in the *Mahābhārata* occurs in the Dhanaidaha copper plate inscription of the Gupta year 113, i.e., A.D. 432-33 of the time of Kumaragupta I.³ The words actually used are as follows :

(U) *ktamcha bhagavatā dvaipāyanena-I Svadattāmparadattāmvā yo haret vasuṇḍharām |*
 (Svav) *ishṭhāyām krimirbhūtvā pitribhiḥ shah pachyate ||*
shashṭhi-varshaśahasrāṇi svarge modati (bhū)midah |
 (Āksheptā) *chānumantā cha tānyeva narake vaset) ||*
 (Pu) *rādattām dvijātibhyo yatnādraksha Yudhisṭhira |*
Mahīm (mahī) (matāñchhreshṭha) (dānāchchhreyo anupālanaṁ) (m)||

The text is an injunction upon Yudhisthira, the king and eldest of the Pandavas, to protect the endowment of land gifted to the Brahmins, for the protection given to a gift is superior to the gift itself. The injunction was pronounced by the divine sage Dvaipayana Vyasa, who also said that whoever tampers with the gift or endowment of land, whether given by himself or others, becomes an insect in human faeces, and is cooked (in the cooking pot) along with his ancestors (in hell). On the contrary the giver of land enjoys bliss in heaven for sixty thousand years. Those who tamper with such gifts or abet such an act suffer the same number of years in hell.

The injunction with slight variations is found in several inscriptions of later times.

¹Sylvain Levi, *Le Nepal*, III, 1905.

²Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-82, also footnote No. 1 on p. 282, where the five sins have been explained.

³*Ibid.*, p. 289 (lines 14-17). Dhanaidaha is in the Rajshahi District of Bangladesh.

(iii) *In Nepal*

One of the earliest inscriptions in Nepal to contain the curse mentioned above is the Changu Narayan inscription, of illegible date, of Sivadeva towards the end of the 6th century A.D.¹ The part dealing with the curse is given below :

“.....Bahubhīrvvasudhā dattā rājābhiḥ Sagarādibhiḥ /
 yasya yasya yadā bhūmistasya tasya tadā phalam //
 Shasṭhīm varshasahasrāṇi svarge modati bhumidaḥ /
 Āksheptā chānumantā cha tāvanti narake vaset //
 (Svada) ttām (pa) radattām vā (y)o (hareta vasundharām) /
 (sa vi)shṭhāyām krimirbhūtvā pitribhiḥ saha pachyate //

The similarity between the curse as contained in the Dhanaidaha copper plate inscription and that in the Changu Narayan inscription is to be noted. The source in both cases is the *Mahābhārata*, though the very slight modifications must be caused by local circumstances.

The practice of including a curse in the inscription was observed throughout the later times in Nepal. In this context it would be sufficient to cite a late instance of the year A.D. 1753. The Bhaktapur stone slab inscription of the year 854 N.S., i.e., A.D. 1753² simply contains the following curse :

“Syadattaparadattām vā yo haranti vasundharām /
 Shasṭhīvarsasahasrāṇi viśṭhāyām jāyate krimī //

It simply means that one who tampers with an endowment of land is born (i.e., lives) as a worm for sixty thousand years in human faeces.

In some of the inscriptions of the Malla kings the curse is pronounced in the Newari language³ and comprises a crore of cow slaughter (*koṭi gohatyā*), a crore of slaughter of Brahmins (*koṭi brahmahatyā*), a crore of women slaughter (*koṭi strīhatyā*), a crore of child slaughter (*koṭi bālahatyā*), a crore of improper acts (*koṭi agamyāgamana*), a crore of improper eating (*koṭi abhakshyabhakshana*), destruction of a crore of Śivaliṅgas (*koṭi Śivaliṅga dhvaṁsana*), and that the destruction of the temple of Śrī Śrī Parameśvarī would amount to the destruction of a crore of horse sacrifices (*koṭi aśvamedhayajñādinā samasta yajña yāṅgā pāpa lāka juro*).

The curse pronounced upon those who tamper with the endowment of property for the maintenance and preservation of religious institutions and structures only serves to emphasize the importance attached to the task of preservation of temples and such other religious monuments in Nepal throughout her history.

¹Gnoli, *op. cit.*, p. 47, lines 27-30.

²Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 296.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 192-3. This also includes *koṭi guruhatyā* (slaughter of gurus).

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6. THE PROCESS OF CONSTRUCTION AND REPAIRS OF MONUMENTS

The processes or stages of the construction of the temples in Nepal and, by inference, of structures in general can be inferred from several inscriptions of the mediaeval period.

The Lubhu Narayana temple stone slab inscription¹ of the year 572 N.S. (i.e., A.D. 1451) states that the temple of Narayana on the spot was installed according to rites prescribed in the *Vedas*. The first part to be constructed was the plinth and *sanctum sanctorum* (*pādashāpanā*) and five days thereafter the image of Narayana was installed to the accompaniment of a sacrifice lasting for twenty four hours. Two months were taken to raise the superstructure or roof called *chulikā*. A part called *koṇu* (in Newari) was then hoisted in its place. The *gajura* finial was the last item to be installed.

The Bhaktapur Taumadhitol stone slab inscription² of the year 674, i.e., A.D. 1553, describes the erection of the temple of Āgama Devatā according to the principles laid down in the Āgamas. The first part to be raised were the *pādukā* (the basal part of the *sanctum*) including the fitting in of the doors. This was followed by the installation of the *gajura* and parasol.

The Kirtipur Chilamdeo *chaitya* stone slab inscription of the year 635 N.S., i.e., A.D. 1513, narrates the construction of the plinth (*pāda-sthāpanā*), followed ten days later by the installation of the gate or door (*dvāra-sthāpanā*).³

The Kathmandu Otu Bahal stone slab inscription of the year 713, i.e., A.D. 1592, gives the most complete description of the stages of construction of a *vihāra*.⁴ The preliminary functions associated with the eventual construction of a *vihāra*, according to this inscription, comprised the selection of land (*bhūparigrahaṃ*) and *krodhāgnipūjā* (worship of the fire god for his grace), the worship of the virgin goddess (*Kumārī-archanā*), the invocation of the protection from demons (*Mārīchirakshā*), the examination and selection of wood (*śalyaparīkshā*), the request for digging of land (*bhūmiyāchanā*), the worship of 81 deities (*Ekāśītikoshthakastha devatāpūjā*), the sowing of barley (*yavaropanaṃ*), the worship of Jānguli (*Jāngulipūjā*), the sanctification of *kalasa* (*kalasādhivāsana*), the installation of a pillar (*kīlakaropanaṃ*), the measurements (*sūtrapātanaṃ*) fixed by strings, the examination of the site, (*vāstuparikshā*), the examination of voids in the earth, the earth-work excavation (*bhūmikhaṇḍa*), and the construction of the plinth and the basal structure of the *sanctum* (*pādashāpanā*). The construction of the basal part was followed by the formal and sanctified visit to the forest (*vanayātrā*) for collection of timber, and the installation of doors, pillars,

¹*Ibid.*, III, pp. 69-71.

²*Ibid.*, IV, pp. 11-12.

³*Ibid.*, III, p. 102.

⁴*Ibid.*, IV, pp. 37-40.

windows and the wooden roof (*dvārasthāpanaṃ*, *stambhasthāpanaṃ*, *gavākshasthāpanaṃ* *śīrodārusthāpanaṃ*) thereafter. The time taken for all these activities, associated with ritual worship and oblations at each stage was one year in the case of the *vihāra* (*Jāmvūnandavamvihāra*) in question.

The images were installed in the *vihāra* thereafter, along with the performance of installation sacrifices.

The processes briefly mentioned in the inscriptions cited above indicate clearly the processes and stages of construction of any religious edifice in general in Nepal. These in their turn are indicative of the stages of repairs carried out to the monuments as and when required.

The Ananda Bahal copper plate inscription of the year 535 N.S., i.e., A.D. 1414, gives a description of the proper method of repairing a water conduit, called Alok Hiti.¹

The Bhaktapur Thathubahil stone slab inscription² of the year 794 N.S., i.e., A.D. 1673, describes the steps undertaken in succession for the repairs to this *vihāra*, in keeping with the principles laid down in the *Śāstras* (*Śāstroktavidhinā*). The splinters etc. of the dilapidated temple were first recovered from the ruins (*śalyoddhārādikam*). It was followed by the sanctification of the site (*bhūmiśodhana*). Then came in succession, the installation of the plinth (*pādasthāpanā*), the hoisting in their places of doors (*dvārādi*) and beams (*dharanikādi*), all in keeping with established principles. The windows, pillars and the wooden roofs (*gavākshastambhaṃ samsthāpya śīrodāru samantata*) came in succession and combined to complete the structure. Finally came the golden *kalasa* (*kanaka-kalasa*) on the summit (presumably) surmounted by the golden flagstaff on the finial.

Thus it may be observed that both the tasks of original construction and repairs in Nepal were taken very seriously by the donors and were taken up in keeping with the established principles. Each stage of construction was accompanied by a sacrificial ritual and sanctified by appropriate worship.

It may be noted that the basic material used in the construction of the monuments in Nepal was wood. It was used in the pillars, doors, windows, roof, beams and tympanums (*toraṇas*), while the walls and plinths were built of bricks and occasionally of stone. The use of bricks is adduced as early as the 7th century A.D. in the Patan Sundhara stone slab inscription mentioned earlier.

The process of repairs or rather provision of facilities to the public and devotees sometimes included the construction of a bridge across an intervening stream standing in the way of the passage to the shrine, as we have noticed in the case of the Paśupati temple, on the approach road to which a bridge across the Dhobikhola was built by king Prithvinarayana Shah.

¹Hemraj Sakya, *Medieval Nepal*, 1970, pp. 71-74.

²Regmi, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-62.

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There is a reference to the sale of land by king Nripendramalla to Kamalamaya Chitrakar of Majhapottol for the purpose of constructing a road leading to the *chaitya* of Swaymbhunatha¹ in a palm leaf manuscript of the year 796 N.S., i.e., A.D. 1675.

Some inscriptions have recorded the partial reconstruction or replacement of a part of an ancient structure. The Kathmandu Santighat *chaitya* (Naghaltol) stone slab inscription of Narendramalla records the replacement of the central mast (*yashti*) of the *stūpa*.²

7. LITERARY EVIDENCE ON REPAIRS TO IMAGES

The Nepal Rashtriya Pustakalaya at Kathmandu has in its possession a manuscript called *Pratishthālakṣhaṇasāra Samuchchaya*, written by one Vairochana, who was son of king Dharmapala and grandson of king Gopala. Thus he was a scion of the Pala dynasty of Bengal and had probably been led to travel to Nepal and take up residence in the country. He was academically a pupil of Īśanaśiva and a grand pupil of Vimalaśiva. He was a devotee of Siva by faith and pursuit.

The oldest manuscript or *Vāstuśāstra* in the possession of the Rashtriya Pustakalaya is dated 288 N.S. which works out to A.D. 1167. There are six other copies of the manuscript in Nepal. Three of these have no date and the other three are dated to 755 N.S., 765 N.S., and 1952 V.S., respectively. The text has been published by the Department of Archaeology in two volumes, besides a book of illustrations of the images described in the text.³

This can be treated as a basic text on the subject produced in Nepal but awaits to be correlated to the immense architectural and iconographical wealth of Nepal. This by itself would be an interesting subject of work, the urgency of which cannot be overemphasized.

The 21st chapter of the manuscript deals with the topic of repairs called *jirṇodhāra*, but confines itself to images instead of structures. Though monuments include temples and images in practice, it is difficult to extend the benefits of protection to images as they are usually loose and objects of constant worship including ritualistic applications of oil, butter, vermilion, milk, water etc., and, as a result, they are subject considerably to wear and tear. The situation is somewhat intensified by their greater and direct accessibility to the devotees and worshippers.

¹Hemraj Sakya, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 88-9.

³*Pratishthālakṣhaṇasāra Samuchchaya*, part I (2023 V.S.) and part II (2025 V.S.). The illustrations called '*Devatāchitra-Saṁgraha*' was published earlier. The text deals with both architecture and iconography.

It is interesting to record that the *Pratishthālakṣhaṇasāra Samuchchaya* indicates the reasons and justification for the restoration of damaged images in the following passages.¹

*Atha jīrṇaṃścha duṣṭaṃścha liṅgādin cha surakṣhitān /
 Āsrayantiha satvāni bhūtavetālarākṣhasāḥ //
 Muhābhayakarā nityaṃ śubhriṣaṃ krūrārūpiṇaḥ /
 Kurvanti doṣhasanghyātāṃ yatra rāṣṭreṣhu te sthitā /
 Mahotpātāṃ dharānāśaṃ chamūbhaṅgaṃ parābhavam
 durbhikṣaṃ dāruṇaṃ rogaṃ prajānāśaṃ daridratāṃ /
 udvegaṃ cha vivādaṃ cha vitaśāṃ chātmajārthayoḥ /
 Pīḍā gobrahmanādināṃ rājño duḥkhaṃ kuśilatām //
 Pratapasatvahānim cha lobhamohādiryuktatām /
 Śatruvyasanapīḍā cha chintā cha mahatī bhavet //
 duṣṭāliṅge sthite rāṣṭre prajā rājño na śobhanaṃ /
 tasmāduddharaṇaṃ kāryaṃ vidhinā mantrapūrvakam //*

The passage broadly means that the damaged images are abandoned by gods and become the abode of ghosts, goblins and demons, who are frightful and cruel and cause many evils to befall the country. Many calamities, landslides and land damages, dissensions in the army, defeat in war, famine, diseases and pestilence, decimation of the population, poverty, worry, disputes, destruction of wealth and children, diseases among the cattle and Brahmins, unhappiness as well as misconduct among the kings, loss of prestige and personality and the incursion of greed and infatuation, increase of enemies and viciousness and great anxiety on account of all these and evils and bad subjects arise as a result of the existence of vitiated images. Therefore damaged images must be restored by the performance of proper rites to the accompaniment of prescribed *mantras* (hymns) for obtaining respite from all these evils.

The installation of the restored images was recommended to be undertaken on an auspicious day, under a favourable constellation, as stated in the following passage.²

Sunakshatre dine yoge sadvāre kartriśobhane

The inscriptional evidence cited earlier above bears out the fact that throughout her history kings and noblemen of Nepal have undertaken repairs to monuments and images as and when they have been necessary in keeping with established and sanctified principles, which have been variously described as *āgamoktavidhi*, *vedoktavidhi*, *śāstroktavidhi*, etc.

8. CONCLUSION

The preservation of ancient monuments in Nepal has now come to be the centralized responsibility of the Department of Archaeology set up under the Ministry

¹*Pratishthālakṣhaṇasāra Samuchchaya*, part II, p. 91.

²*Ibid.*, p. 92, line 9.

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of Education in 1952. The *Prāchīn Smārak Samrakshan Ain* of 1956-57 has provided for the punishment in the form of fine or imprisonment for those found guilty of damaging or disfiguring any protected monument (as a contrast to the wishful curses of the early and mediaeval times). Any structure that is older than 100 years is considered under the law of the land (also in India) to be protected automatically, regardless of a positive declaration or notification to this effect.

But the coming into existence of the Department or the passing of the Act of protection of monuments did not automatically bring into existence a mechanism for the undertaking of repairs to monuments in general.

In fact, an institution called Chheñ-Bhaḍel, dating from the times of the Mallas, had been carrying out repairs to the ancient and public edifices in Nepal out of state funds as its specific duty till almost recent times. But its functions were transferred to an organization called the Valley Reorganization Committee (Upatyakā Nirmāṇa Samiti), in 2019 V.S. (A.D. 1956-57). Its scope naturally was not confined to ancient monuments alone but encompassed the structures and public edifices all over the valley. The works of the Samiti were, from this time on, alternately carried out by this organization or the Public Works Department, which remained virtually in charge of all repairs to ancient structures till 1966, when the Department of Archaeology took up on its own the first major repairs to any ancient monument in Nepal, namely, the *Kāshthamandapa* in the heart of Kathmandu, jointly with and under the entire financial support of the *Guthi Samsthān*, the centralized organisation for the control and utilization of religious endowments.

Though the task of preserving the ancient heritage of the country is both a privilege and a duty of the Department of Archaeology, it is considerably handicapped for want of adequate financial allocations, and an adequate executive staff for carrying out the required repairs. To circumvent these difficulties an organization called the *Guthi Jirṇoddhāra-tathā-Nirmāṇa Samiti*, under the Chairmanship of the Director General of Archaeology, i.e., a committee of five members, including the Chairman and a Member-Secretary, was created in 1966 for the purpose of carrying out repairs to religious edifices as well as the construction of new structures appurtenant to the religious institutions which the Committee was meant primarily to serve. This arrangement seems to have been made because the funds for all constructional activity was to be provided by the *Guthi Samsthān*, which was accountable for all expenditure out of the *Guthi* funds, and at the same time the Director General of Archaeology could provide the technical guidance and also exercise control over the execution of repairs. The arrangement may have some practical advantages, but has all the disadvantages of dual responsibilities, the aims and objectives of the two organizations not often being common, apart from the basic differences in their approaches.

In this context it would be interesting to record that the infamous and disastrous earthquake of 1990 V.S. (i.e., A.D. 1934) had damaged many monuments in Nepal, not

to speak of numberless residential houses. The removal of the debris and reconstruction of the utilitarian structures were both a Herculean task and an expensive undertaking. There are inscriptional records again which have chronicled the repairs or reconstructions that were then attempted on a large scale in the three cities of the valley and elsewhere.¹

Though repairs have been carried out from time to time in the past, Nepal has not always taken steps to ensure that the pristine outlines of the structure or even the age-old forms are not modified. In fact, the idea of preserving the ancient architectural styles and achievements have not formed part of the inspiration to preserve, reconstruct or repair ; for all these works have been undertaken in the past with a view primarily to ensuring merely the continuation of the functions they had been serving. Sometimes, of course, the ancient styles have indeed been preserved and such happenings have been more often by accident than by design. The awkward and outlandish domical roofs, that we often see surmounted on the framework of a structure (temple) designed originally to be a multiple-roofed temple, came in the course of repairs, that were executed after the earthquake of A.D. 1934, under the orders of the then Rana Prime Minister. These changes have not indeed enhanced the beauty of the structures. On the contrary, they have often detracted from the natural grace of Nepalese architecture, and they speak of a style generally adopted during the Rana hegemony. The truth of this statement would be apparent from the consideration of the difference that the newly introduced domical roof over the Siva temple in the centre of Rani Pokhari (pl. IV), originally built by Pratapamalla in 1669 obviously in the multiple-roofed style, has made to its view in contrast to the grace of the serrated silhouette against the backdrop of the Himalayas and of the reflection of the *devala* style temple in the crystal clear waters of the tank under the canopy of a blue sky.

There are several inscriptions to indicate the large-scale damage and destruction that the earthquake of 1934 caused not merely to temples and such other monuments but also to the houses of the people and the steps that were taken to reconstruct and rebuild from the ashes. As a result many innovations were introduced, but the fact that the personality of Nepalese monuments stands largely unaltered and high and distinctive till this day is a tribute at once to the inherent love of the Nepalese people for and the capacity to uphold their traditions. These inscriptions also point out that there was no specialized organisation for the repairs to monuments ruined by the earthquake. To deal with this a general organization called the *Bhūkampa Uddhār Saṁsthā* (Earthquake Relief Committee) was brought into being under the patronage of the Prime Minister, Juddha Samsher.

¹*Abhilekha Saṁgraha*, No. 8, pp. 7-8. This is a very important and interesting inscription as it indicates the unabated solicitude of the rulers for their subjects over nearly three hundred years in respect of the self-same institutions of public utility. The repairs were carried out under the orders of Juddha Samsher Jung Bahadur Rana, Prime Minister.

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The Bhaktapur Golden Gate copper plate inscription of the year 1989 V.S. (*i.e.*, A.D. 1933) of the time of Juddha Samsher¹ records the interesting account of the repairs that were carried out from time to time to the irrigation channel in Bhaktapur originally built by king Jitamitramalla in the year 1735 V.S. (*i.e.*, A.D. 1678) with the introduction of a stone conduit (*dhuṅgedhārā*). It states further that the channels and conduits at different places were kept in good repair and in functioning order by king Bhupatindramalla in 1760 V.S. (*i.e.*, A.D. 1703). The channel built anciently by Jitamitramalla was repaired again under the orders of Bhimsen Thapa, as recorded in a Lal Mohar, in the year 1875 V.S. (*i.e.*, A.D. 1818). Thereafter again the arrangements for ensuring the proper flow of water in the channels was made during the regime of the Prime Minister Dhir Samsher, who provided for the employment in perpetuity of three helping hands in addition to the existing strength of six persons in the year 1932 V.S. (*i.e.*, A.D. 1875). The *dhārās* (water conduits) and the channels were somewhat neglected thereafter. As no repairs were carried out to them, they ceased to be functional, and some of them even got covered up and choked with debris and earth. As a result, the priests of the temples had to walk long distances to the very source of the water or spring to fetch water for worship and as the population had meanwhile increased, and the *Rājālakṣmīdhārā* had become far too inadequate to meet their requirements. These matters were brought to the notice of the Prime Minister by his son, Dhana Samsher, and thereafter the *dhārās* and channels were cleaned and repaired at the instance of Dhana Samsher but by the orders of the Prime Minister. An endowment was created for meeting the annual requirements of repairs to the *dhārās* in future and a copper plate inscription to this effect was affixed to the Gahiridhara at Bhaktapur. The inscription also records that such works were considered as the responsibility of the king and shows that the Prime Ministers of the time took a keen interest in such matters of public utility. This, together with the facts given below, would show up Juddha Samsher as inspired by the same spirit of preserving the past heritage as had characterized Lord Curzon as Viceroy and Governor-General in India, though the basic purpose and compulsion in the former's case were somewhat different.

The copper plate inscription affixed to the space above the inner door of the Dharharā (tower raised to honour Bhimsen Thapa) of the year 1992 V.S. (*i.e.*, A.D. 1936)² mentions that the monument, adjacent to the Sundhara in Kathmandu, which had been built in the year 1882 V.S. (*i.e.*, A.D. 1825) by Queen Lalita Tripurasundari had been damaged by the terrible earthquake of 1990 V.S. (*i.e.*, 1934), only two of the three original storeys alone having been spared; and that it was repaired by Juddha Samsher in the year 1992 V.S. (*i.e.*, 1936), by reconstructing the third storey. This distantly recalls the raising of the height of the Qutb Minar in Delhi by Firoz Shah Tughlak, the great preserver of monuments in mediaeval India, in the 14th century. The stone slab inscription on the eastern side of the pedestal of the statue of Juddha

¹*Abhilekha Saṁgrahā*, No. 8, pp. 9-10.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

Samsher at the quadruple junction of the Juddha Saḍak (New Road) in Kathmandu¹ mentions the event of the disastrous earthquake of A.D. 1934, the institution by the orders of Juddha Samsher of the Earthquake Relief Society (or Committee) and the execution of repairs to a large number of ancient monuments, *viz.*, Dharharā, Ghaṇṭāghar (Clock Tower standing on the eastern side of Rāni Pokhari), the Taleju Bhavānī temple at Hanuman Dhoka, Kathmandu, the Machchhindranath temple at Lalitpur, the Bhairava temple at Bhaktapur, many temples of Siva and other gods in addition to the grant of lakhs of rupees as loans to the dispossessed persons for the reconstruction of their residential houses etc.

The Lalitpur Bhimsensthan stone pillar inscription of the year 1997 V.S. (*i.e.*, A.D. 1941) of Juddha Samsher² refers again to the devastations caused by the earthquake and to the wholesale reconstruction carried out in the three cities of Bhaktapur, Lalitpur and Kantipur (Kathmandu), respectively, as a result of which the city of Bhaktapur had become as good as new. There is a reference in this inscription to the reconstruction of a large number of temples in Lalitpur, as well as to the immensely large-scale reconstruction carried out in Kathmandu and the bringing into being therein of the Naya Saḍak (New Road) and the Globe Park (Bhūgol Park) adjoining the southern side of the road etc. The pillar itself was meant, according to the inscription it carried, to serve as a memorial of the earthquake and the restoration of the valley from its ruins.

The Kathmandu Bhūgol (Globe) inscription of Juddha Samsher³ also refers to the clearing away of the debris of ruined buildings from the streets of towns and villages and the reconstruction of temples, *pātis* and *powāhs* through the Earthquake Relief Society at the expense of the state treasury and the grant of long-term interest-free loans to the dispossessed for the reconstruction of their houses. The inscription incidentally refers to an older earthquake at the time of a former king Saktisimhadeva, and still another that had taken place in the year 1890 V.S. (*i.e.*, A.D. 1834).⁴ During the second earthquake the people were left to fend for themselves, and got no assistance from the state, but, as a contrast, a good bit of assistance was made available from the state by the Prime Minister after the third great earthquake (of A.D. 1934).

It was at this time of reconstruction that some builders began to adopt new styles of construction which are subversive of the distinctive personality of Nepalese architecture. The inscription records this fact of change in style and also states that some two-storied houses were raised to three storeys or four storeys as one liked. It also records that the reconstruction was carried out so fast as to leave or suggest no memory of the devastations suffered.

¹*Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 12-14.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 15-23.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 18.

The stone inscription on the pedestal of the statute of Juddha Samsher standing to the left of the Bhadrakali temple¹, to the east of Tundikhel in Kathmandu, of the year 2006, *i.e.*, A.D. 1949 refers to the reconstruction, after the earthquake, of religious institutions, the hermitages of monks, temples, *powāhs*, houses associated with temples, steps at the river bank, *dharmasālās*, the Dharharā and the Ghanṭāghar etc., by Juddha Samsher. All these records point rightly to Juddha Samsher as an enlightened conservator of ancient monuments.²

The tradition of causing inscriptional records of fresh constructions as well as of repairs to public buildings is even now in vogue in Nepal. The records are extremely useful as historical documents and are in keeping with the tradition handed down to the present generation from the remotest times of the Lichchhavis. The present study, in spite of its length, is comparatively a brief account of the vast inscriptional evidence on the construction in original and repairs to ancient monuments in Nepal through the entire expanse of her history. They tell us amply of the different dates and processes of construction and repairs, the agencies of execution, the changes introduced, the names of the donors, the texts of architecture followed for guidance (though only in very general terms) and together they all are a mine of information on the evolution and development of art and architecture in Nepal.

9. PROBLEMS OF CONSERVATION OF THE ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE IN NEPAL TO-DAY

(i) *Introduction*

Nepal is one of the countries that have come only very recently to join the race and rage for the preservation of their cultural heritage on modern lines. Her position in geography, which has given her a seclusion and isolation, has been intensified by the factors of history and human ingenuity. It is well known that until 1951 Nepal remained isolated from the rest of the world in spite of the presence of a British Residency in Kathmandu from the beginning of the 19th century. We have already observed that the hereditary Rana Prime Ministers were the real rulers of the country and the kings were virtual prisoners in their own palaces. When the old shackles of Rana aristocracy were finally broken asunder in 1951, Nepal started life afresh and naturally began with the handicap of a self-imposed isolation. The last twenty-eight years have seen

¹*Ibid.*, pp. 30-33.

²*Ibid.*, p. 32.

The solicitude of Juddha Samsher for the antiquarian remains of Nepal and his love for preserving the past are indicated also by his establishment of the Juddha Kalā Śālā in the year 2000 V.S., *i.e.*, 1938, the purpose of which was to promote the traditional arts (painting) of Nepal as well as to serve as a store house of relics of Nepalese culture. This is clearly borne out by his two inscriptions kept in the National Museum at Kathmandu. One of these is a copper plate inscription fixed on the pedestal of the statue of Juddha Samsher in the central lobby of the Juddha Kalā Śālā and the other one engraved on the stone pedestal of the same statue. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

the gradual weaning away of Nepal from the effects of a stagnant isolation to the benefits of the common legacy of all mankind in scientific advancement and political progress. The effects of a lack of contact with the rest of the world have been observed on the state of preservation of cultural property as well. The result has been that traditional methods of construction, preservation or restoration adopted by the Nepalese as recorded in the inscriptions with a sense of pride have helped so far to preserve intact the Nepalese personality in her monuments. Already as a result of this contact with the diverse influences of the rest of the world the tradition has weakened and not without inevitable effects upon the form and shape of her cultural heritage.

For lack as yet of means of communication with the different parts of Nepal, vast tracts hemmed in by mountains and lacerated by deep riverine gorges or separated by ridges and valleys, remain largely or comparatively unknown. Anything that is said now about the monuments or cultural heritage of Nepal is at best an incomplete account. For obvious reasons, the attention of the authorities and scholars has been confined, for the most part, to the populous valley of Kathmandu, around the capital city, which measures about 25 km. by 20 km.

The idea of conservation of monuments in Nepal, not as objects of art or of cultural heritage but as functional or utilitarian institutions of religion or structures of residence, is as old as the oldest monuments described in the numerous inscriptions that are so well preserved in the country, as already recounted above. The omnibus word used to describe the process of repairs or restoration, which included total reconstruction, was *jīrṇoddhāra*, which literally means reclamation from the ruins. The principle of repairs or restoration with a view to preserving the form, shape and style of the structures as objects of legacy of the past and as examples of the achievement of the olden days, was clearly not known nor recognised or followed.

(ii) *Procedure and Machinery of Conservation*

The modern principle of conservation is to retain unmodified ancient architectural relics, with the help of the technical knowledge of the architectural forms of the ancient days. An institution called *Chheñ-Bhaḍel*, dating apparently from the time of the Mallas, had been carrying out repairs to ancient and public edifices in Nepal till the recent past as its specific duty as mentioned above. This organisation was part and parcel of the Durbar from times immemorial. But its functions were, in recent times, transferred to an organisation called the Valley Construction Committee (*Upatyakā Nirmāṇa Samiti*) which came into existence in V.S. 2019 (A.D. 1956-57). From this time on the works of the Samiti were alternately done by it or the Public Works Department, which continued virtually to be in charge of all repairs to the ancient structures till almost 1966, when the Department of Archaeology, that had come into existence in 2009 V.S. (A.D. 1952-53), took up the first major repairs to any ancient monument, namely, the *Kāshthamaṇḍapa* in the heart of Kathmandu, jointly with and under the entire financial support of the *Guthi Samsthān* (Religious Endowments Corporation).

THE PRESERVATION OF ARCHITECTURAL TRADITIONS IN NEPAL

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Until the passing of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act [*Prāchīn Smāraka Samrashan Ain* of V. S. 2013 (1956-57)], and till long after the coming into being of the Department of Archaeology, repairs to ancient monuments were being carried out sporadically by the orders of the Government, but not necessarily on the established principles of archaeological conservation. The modification of the temple at the centre of the Rani Pokhari at Kathmandu, the construction of which is originally attributed (in 790 Newari Samvat, i.e., A.D. 1669) to king Pratapamalla, is a case in point.

Though this task of preserving the ancient heritage of the country was both a privilege and duty of the Department of Archaeology, it was considerably handicapped for want of an adequate executive staff as well as finances ever since its inception. These difficulties have now been overcome to an extent, and the situation has improved considerably ever since the constitution of the *Guthi Jinnoddhāra-tathā-Nirmāṇa Samiti* of the *Guthi Samsthān* (Religious Endowments Corporation) in 1967, and its joining hands with the Department of Archaeology for the execution of works entrusted to it. It decides upon the work of repairs as well new constructions that have to be taken up, and accordingly works are taken up from time to time. The preparation of estimates is carried out by an engineer deputed by the Department of Archaeology, and the actual execution of the works is left to be carried out by project officers, appointed on *ad hoc* basis for the respective projects in hand. The works are supervised by the Engineer of the Department, whose services have been transferred to the *Samiti* provisionally, and a few Overseers on the engineering side, and by the Secretary to the *Samiti* on the administrative side. The lines on which the repairs are to be carried out are usually outlined by the Director General who also periodically inspects the works in progress.

On the technical side the *Samiti* is also served by a specialist on Art and Architecture and a Photographer of its own. The Department of Archaeology periodically lends its own Draftsmen to the *Samiti* in emergencies.

Thus the set-up of the machinery for the conservation of monuments devised jointly by the Department of Archaeology and the *Guthi Jinnoddhāra-tathā-Nirmāṇa Samiti* is suited to the present conditions in Nepal, where the *Guthi Samsthān* exercises a large measure of control over all the religious establishments in the country, both organisationally and administratively, and repairs are considered as part of its normal duties. The desideratum, however, is a larger staff, with adequate technical qualifications, intensive training in archaeological conservation of monuments comparable to those in Nepal, and a suitable length of experience under the guidance of veterans in the line.

Increasingly intensified adoption of the archaeological principles of conservation, outlined in the following lines, which has been the aim of preservational repairs that have been carried out already and emphasised in the objectives in the currently initial stages, will have firmly laid the foundations of proper conservation of ancient monuments in the country.

(iii) Need For Classification of Monuments

No country on earth can perhaps find enough funds to deal effectively with all her ancient monuments. It becomes necessary, therefore, to classify the monuments according to their importance evaluated on the basis of style, historical association and architectural or other distinctive features with a view to establishing the priorities of responsibility.

At the same time an optimum list of monuments that the authorities may decide to keep in repair, in consideration of the limited nature of the pecuniary resources, which naturally restrict the strength of the concerned executive establishment, or the outlay, must also be worked out.

(iv) Phasing of Repairs

The works of repairs too have also to be phased over a period of time in an order of priority and are to be taken up according to the working capacity of the competent staff available for the supervision of the work. In working this out, the capacity of the supervisory staff must be taken into consideration to be able to establish effective control over the supervision and execution of the works planned and taken in hand. A plan has now been drawn up with the help of UNESCO.

(v) Persistent Difficulties

Notwithstanding the hampering and lingering difficulties impeding the process of the conservation of ancient monuments in Nepal, it must be recorded that considerable progress has already been made in the preservation of the cultural wealth of Nepal in recent years. A team of experts from the Federal Republic of Germany has carried out repairs to the Pujari Math, a 16th century monastic establishment in Bhaktapur, as an exemplary piece of work in conservation, but the required extent of local participation with an eye on training was perhaps lacking. Such denominational works may be good specimens of work, but they do not generally encourage or help growth of local talent. All effort must be dedicated to the development of local talent, so that their confidence and self-reliance may be promoted properly and quickly. Now a project is under way for restoration and repairs to the monuments at Bhaktapur.

Owing often to the advanced stage of decay in some cases, requiring urgent treatment, and for other reasons, it has often not been possible to follow the principle of making complete records of the monuments to show the condition before repairs. It is to be hoped, however, that the persisting difficulties will be overcome before long.

Owing again to the peculiar nature of the monuments in Nepal, a major component of which is a basically wooden framework, which by its very nature is extremely difficult to preserve for long, total renovation or reconstruction has had to be attempted more often than would be justified elsewhere.

A major part of the ornamental aspects of the ancient monuments is constituted by wood-carvings, and the treatment they require is entirely different from what the structural parts need. The volume of work in the field is enormous and the lack of a properly and adequately equipped chemical establishment in the Department of Archaeology has prevented the independent undertaking of any work at all in the line so far. This is a major problem affecting all parts of the world.

Some chemical work for the cleaning and preservation of mural paintings and woodworks has indeed been attempted limitedly, but the volume of work in the field of chemical preservation lying ahead is simply stupendous, which only a much larger technical establishment with adequate training and experience and substantial financial backing can account for. The work must also be a continuous process, and not by fits and starts as has been done till recently even at the instance of UNESCO.¹

(vi) *Problems of Conservation*

(a) *General*

The problems affecting the structures are created largely by the factors of (i) movement of soil and earthquakes to which the terrain is prone, (ii) rainfall which is quite heavy in the area, (iii) vegetation, including *ficus religiosa*, and of course (iv) the factor of time bringing on natural decay, inducing dry-rot, wood (v) insects including termites and, to a considerable extent, also (vi) the interference of the human hand.

(b) *Movement of Soil*

The movement of soil caused by seismic movements disturbs the balance of the structure, creating gaps and voids, but the wooden framework and the clay mortar impart to the monuments a considerable degree of elasticity, which holds the structure together. Structures are known to exist in this fashion with their vertical lines out of plumb for decades or ages. A pavilion on the Basantapur Durbar at an important public square was standing intact ever since the earthquake of 1934. This induces some amount of complacency verging on negligence among the people.

(c) *Earthquakes*

The most devastating earthquake in recent history, namely, the earthquake of 1934, was responsible for pulling down a large number of monuments in Nepal. Some of the structures in use could be put to use with a little measure of repairs but quite a number had to be rebuilt all over again. In the course of reconstruction, the builders did not take care to preserve the ancient style, but imposed the styles of domed structures with the use of cement and lime mortar for which the Rana rulers had a predilection, even

¹UNESCO has prepared a *Maser Plan for the Conservaion of Cultural Heritage in the Kathmandu Valley*, 1977.

though the greatest preserver and restorer of ancient structures, a Rana Prime Minister, the late Juddha Samsher J.B. Rana, lamented the change of style they brought about by the unthinking restorers. But against such natural calamities no preventive action can perhaps be taken. He underscores the necessity as well urgency of photographic as well as discriptive documentation of all ancient monument in a phased manner.

(d) Rainfall

The heavy rainfall, in Nepal, apart from coming down with all its weight, causes excessive humidity which has its deleterious effects on the monuments, but far more dangerous is the soaking into the porous soil of all the water, and its coming up again through the foundations and walls by capillary action and keeping the basal parts in almost wet condition. Added to this is the absence of aprons around the monuments and the absence of any damp-proof course in the structures or proper arrangements for drainage.

The remedy would lie in building up impervious aprons sloping outwardly around the structures, providing drainage, and introducing a damp-proof course at the base of the walls. All these factors would help prolong the life of the structures.

(e) Vegetation

Vegetation, which grows in abundance in tropical regions, is a natural enemy of structures in the region. The most disastrous in this respect is the *ficus religiosa* which grows on and around monuments and is not meddled with on account of religious sentiments attaching themselves to the plant, with calamitous consequences.

The use of clay as mortar in the structure as well as on the rafters and purlins supporting the tiled roofs of the so-called pagoda or *devala* temples also encourages the growth of plants, with obviously harmful consequences. While the effect is not so badly noticed on the walls, the roofs present a forested scene during and after the rainy season. This recalls a parallel situation obtaining in Kashmir.

The obvious remedy would lie in doing away with the use of clay for the roofs and its replacement, to render the roofs rainproof, by a lime-cement mortar or even bitumen, if funds can permit, under the tiles. Such a procedure will at once reduce the weight upon the wooden framework and prolong the life of the structure as a whole, though it may lead unobtrusively to liquidating tradition.

The use of tree-killers has also been recently employed on the sturdier vegetation growing on the monuments with some measure of success and, has won therefore, the appreciation of the hesitant masses.

(f) Decay of Wood

The humidity of the atmosphere has served generally as a great preservative of woodworks in Nepal. Nevertheless, woodworks are affected by natural decay, dry rot,

and wood insects. The remedy would lie in the use of fumigation to eliminate the insects, and periodical treatment with a suitable wood preservative, and the avoidance in all future restorations of the use of clay from contact with woodwork.

The same remarks would hold good in respect of the vast miscellany of wooden sculptures or carvings with which Nepal abounds.

(g) *The Human Hand*

The human hand is no small an enemy of the ancient monuments of Nepal. Unlike in most other countries, most monuments here are living monuments. The people, therefore, think nothing of introducing modern innovations in the form of mosaic, cement and marble, etc., all substantially altering the character of the monuments. Sometimes alterations and modifications and accretionary additions are introduced without any compunction. While most of these activities arise from a lack of a sense of the need to preserve the pristine aspect of the past, there has been some vandalism as well. The most disastrous was of course the invasion of Sultan Shamsuddin Ilyas of Bengal in 1349. In recent times, the mad rage of king Rana Bahadur Shah, at the death of his wife, in the beginning of the 19th century, induced in him a total disbelief in the powers of gods and even hatred for them and their temples. But the extent of vandalism imposed by Rana Bahadur Shah in a fit of temporary fury was almost negligible.

In this context it would be interesting to record that the more than 170 years old ornamental silver coverings of woodwork in the famous Paśupati temple of Nepal were sought to be replaced *en masse* in 1967 on the ground that they had been partially damaged by dents and fissures caused by the constant throwing upon them of offerings of rice, fruits, water, etc., by the devotees. The affected parts, however, were not even a meagre 10 per cent of the entire extent. This was saved at the intercession of His late Majesty King Mahendra Bir Vikram Shah Deva and repaired all over again by traditional methods.¹

(h) *Use of Bricks in Structures*

It is needless to say that the vast majority of structures in Nepal are built of bricks. They are prone to the same disintegration as any other material. Remedial measures such as provision of aprons, drainage and introduction of damp-proof course in the walls, besides the repetitive application of preservative coats would certainly prolong their life. But the problem is baffling because of the sheer number of structures in a land where there are traditionally more temples than houses.

(i) *Metallic Remains*

The problem of metallic remains in the form of sheets used on the roofs, *repoussé* foils used decoratively on sculptures, tympanums or over-doors or as independent

¹On the basis of the advice submitted by the author in his capacity as Archaeological Adviser to His Majesty's Government of Nepal.

inserts, or sculptures is the same as in any other country, and no special mention is therefore being made of it.

(j) *Murals as Part of the Architectural Scheme*

A word must, however, be said in regard to the problems affecting the paintings in Nepal. Paintings are seen as murals, *tañkās* (or ritual hangings on silk, cotton or paper), manuscript illustrations on paper, and paintings on manuscript covers.

The problem is one of preparing an anthology in the first instance, the assessment of the materials used in the paintings, and the condition of their preservation and the determination of the remedies. There are several inscriptional records of palace walls being adorned with paintings (*bhitti chitra*).

The murals, of which only a few instances are known, are executed mostly with water soluble ingredients, in *tempera* techniques, on a mud plastered base. Apart from the factor of moisture in the humidity affecting the colours, these have been affected by streaks of water running down the leaks in the roofs. Some of these are on the outer walls of temples, where they are subject to too much exposure to the sun's rays and heat, rainfall and moisture. They are also, particularly in the lower levels, easily accessible to the human hand and its evil effects. Besides, as animal sacrifice is an inescapable ritual in Nepal and the frenzy of the devotee leads to directing splashes of blood spurting from the freshly cut up arteries of the sacrificed animal on to the painted deities, the problem of organic invasion and intrusion upon the murals is further accentuated.

Apart from these agents of destruction, the burning of lamps inside the structures resulting in the deposit of smoke and soot, the besmearing of clarified butter and vermilion on the painted deities and other figures are other sources of danger and damage.

Some useful and pioneering work was done on the preservation of the 17th century murals, *i.e.*, in the palace of Bhupatindramalla in Bhaktapur as well as in the 18th century abode of the living goddess or Kumārī in Kathmandu, by a team of conservators from the Archaeological Survey of India under the direction of Dr. B.B. Lal in 1965-66.

(vii) *The Conservation Laboratory*

For some years now the Department of Archaeology has been receiving assistance from UNESCO for building up a chemical laboratory and for taking up actual works of chemical conservation with the help of a UNESCO specialist. But alas, the specialist's help has been available, until recently, for very short spells at a stretch, and only by fits and starts, with the result that the work has neither been continuous nor prolonged with corresponding effect on the training of local participants.

In 1971, a Conservation Laboratory was set up by UNESCO at Kathmandu and this has now been integrated with the Department of Archaeology, His Majesty's Government of Nepal. The laboratory is making efforts to provide facilities for

training specialists in the conservation of oil paintings on wood, paper or silk and murals, besides objects of wood, bronze, metals, stone and terracotta, respectively. The trained staff of the laboratory has been carrying out restoration work to different kinds of monuments and antiquities in Nepal.

(viii) Important Works Executed and Projects in Hand

One of the major works of conservation carried out recently in Kathmandu was the restoration of the Nassal Chok, which was part of the Royal Palace of Hanuman Dhoka, before the coronation of His Majesty King Birendra Bir Vikram Shah.

An inventory entitled "Protective Inventory of Monuments and Sites in Kathmandu Valley" has been published by His Majesty's Government of Nepal recently. This will certainly enable the Department of Archaeology to plan out its consevation programme and undertake works of repairs and restoration on the basis of priorities and requirements identified.

Substantial work of repairs, restoration and reconstruction has been carried out under UNESCO auspices to the towers on the Basantapur Durbar palace, imparting a new lease of life to the more than 200 years old relic of the coming of the Gorkhas into the Kathmandu valley. In doing this meticulous work care has been taken to maintain the pristine character and outline of the structure and the leaning towers at the top are plumb again.

But a special project has been intiated for Bhaktapur which is afflicted with the problems of gradual subsidence. It is a battle royal between nature and human ingenuity.

(ix) The Future

The Government of Nepal is also alive to the needs of preserving the distinctive personality of Nepalese architecture and town and village planning intact, in reconciliation with the requirements of modern times. This would ensure that the heritage of Nepal would be retained intact and would continue to attract scholars and tourists alike, so that the message and beauty that the past of Nepal bears would continue to be held out to posterity.

CHAPTER IX

THE CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND NEPAL AND THEIR
IMPACT ON NEPALESE ARCHITECTURE

1. INTRODUCTION

It is common knowledge that the banks of the mighty Indus river and its tributaries and the regions further to the south and south-west, covering a major part of Baluchistan, Punjab and Sindh (now in Pakistan), and Rajasthan, Punjab and Haryana (in India) was the cradle of the earliest civilization that arose in the sub-continent. It has a distribution zone that spreads from Serai Khola and Rahman Dheri, almost near Peshawar, in the north, to Bhagatray, on the estuary of the Tapti, in District Broach in the south and from Sutkagendor in Sindh along the coastline of Makran, almost touching the Iranian border of Pakistan in the west, to Alamgirpur in District Meerut, Uttar Pradesh (India) in the east. Its spatial expanse covers an area measuring 1500 km. north-south and about 1100 km. east-west. The civilization with its extensive urban remains at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa in Pakistan, and Kalibangan in District Ganganagar, Rajasthan and Lothal in District Ahmedabad, Gujarat has been alternatively described as the Harappa culture after the site in Pakistan where it was first discovered, and the Indus civilization, named after the Indus river which formed its central or nuclear cradle. In point of time it ranges from *circa* 2350 B.C. to *circa* 1750 B.C. but emerges upon a substratum of an almost equally vibrant, if less variegated or sophisticated, culture with traces of fortified habitations in a far-flung area.

Though claims have been advanced for recognizing it as the remains of the Vedic civilization itself, the point has not yet been established. The fundamental difference between the Indus script as found on its numerous seals, and the traditional method of transmission of knowledge and records through word of mouth would still be a disclaimer despite the most recent claims of S.R. Rao.¹

¹Rao, 'Deciphering the Indus Valley Script', *Indian and Foreign Review*, New Delhi, Vol. 17, no. 3, 15th November, 1979, pp. 13-18.

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Be that as it may, it is clear that on the embers of this civilization, came into the self-same region the multitudinous ancestors of the later Aryan settlers of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and spread themselves into the valleys of the Sarasvati and Drishadvati in the Bikaner-Ganganagar area of Rajasthan. From this centre point which served them for long as their habitat they began to expand¹ into the east and south, disseminating their simple ways of living, their values of life and their ideas of the divine. They began to absorb and assimilate the ideas of the local people with whom they came into contact. Gradually, the plains of the Ganga and Yamuna, and the doab in between them became the nucleus of the new pastoral civilization of the Aryans. From the plains of the Ganga the mountains and valleys of Nepal were not a far cry.

2. RELIGIOUS LIFE

Now and again a seeker of the supreme truth must have abjured the mundane life of the populous localities, and repaired to the solitude of the Himalayas in search of peace and solace. In the course of his movements, he had the fullest opportunities of carrying his thoughts and message of a new way of living, a new outlook on the life on earth and the life beyond to the people of the regions to which he had moved. Many must have been attracted by the message. This would account for the great influence the *Vedas*, the *Upanishads* and the *Gītā* wield over the people of Nepal, and, in fact, dominate the thoughts and religious life of the people of Nepal. Of course it would be fair to concede that there may have been many others who naturally rejected these new-fangled heterodox ideas such as they must have been in the hoary past.

The process of Hinduization of Nepal² must, therefore, have taken a long time, but the new way of living would naturally have accommodated the pre-existing local beliefs and practices as well. It is to these long-drawn out processes that we owe commonly the devout worship of Siva and Parvati, of Vishnu and Lakshmi, of Durga Mahishasuramardhini, of Ganesa and Sarasvati, of Rama and Sita, of Hanuman and Surya, of the existence of the ideas of *Śakti* and *Śaktipithas*, of Paśupati and Guhyesvari, and numerous other minor gods and goddesses and even the syncretically conjoint deities like Hari-Sankara, Siva-Ardhanarisvara or Vishnu-Ardhanari etc., conveying the pervasive oneness of all gods and goddesses.

¹This may appear as an oversimplification of the Aryan problem. The arguments in favour of the proposition have been advanced in the author's *The Iron Age in India*, New Delhi, 1965, pp. 119-157. The problem has been recently re-examined by B.K. Thapar in 'The Aryans : A Reappraisal of the Problems', *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, New Delhi, 1970, pp. 147 ff. with no clearer solution in the horizon.

²H.C. Ray, in his *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 188, says, "The passing away of the Kirātas and the reign of the Somavāmśis probably marks the definite entry of Nepal into the domain of precise historical tradition. Paśupreksha of this dynasty is credited, by all the *Vaṃśāvalīs*, with having introduced the Hindu social system into the valley".

The same phenomenon would also account for the common festivities and holy celebrations like 'Āshāḍhī Ekādaśī', Tihār, Janmāshṭamī, Indrajātrā, Pitrimoksha Amāvasyā, Dasaiñ or Dashera, Dipāvalī, Bhaiyādūj, Śivarātri and Holi etc., besides the special observances of fast on every Ekādaśī, Amāvasyā, Pūrṇimā, and the occasions of the solar and lunar eclipses, when people bathe in the sacred waters of the river for purification and offer gifts to the needy.

As in Hinduism, so in Buddhism, are the beliefs shared in common by Nepal and India. Though the Buddha was born in Nepal,¹ it is well known that the field of his activity and the evolution of his thoughts lay in India. And Buddhism in all its ramifications, namely, in its pristine form of Hīnayāna, and the later developed forms, first of Mahāyāna, then of Tantrayāna or Vajrayāna, in that order, came to Nepal from India. In course of time Buddhism with its pantheon and practice of worship in association with sacrifice became indistinguishable from Brahmanical Hinduism. This was accentuated by the fact that the Buddha himself came to be regarded in the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The position is clinched in the famous allegorical love poem of the *Gīta Govinda* by Jayadeva of the 12th century.

As a natural corollary, therefore, there sprang up in Nepal, as in India, innumerable *stūpas*,² *chaityas*, monasteries and temples dedicated to Buddhist deities, besides images in stone, wood and metal and a large pantheon of deities in diverse varieties.

The teachers, who preached and expatiated upon the doctrines of Buddhism in all its manifestations in Nepal, hailed again from India. The first to come was Asoka followed by his emissaries. The sacred spot of the birth of Buddha at Lumbini was visited by Asoka³ in the company of his preceptor, Upagupta. He perpetuated the event by the construction of a stone-studded brick structure (*silāvigāḍabhichā*) and a stone pillar and engraved the fact in the form of a short five-lined inscription on the pillar. This was of course in the low lying plains of the terai well outside the pale of the mountain valleys and plateaus of Nepal. But tradition attributes to him the founding of the city of Patan (then bearing the name of Lalitapaṭṭana) and the construction therein of five typical *stūpas* well into the interior of Nepal. At the same time one of his daughters, named Charumati, is credited with the act of abjuring worldly life and setting up a monastery or nunnery called Charumati Vihara, which is still

¹At Lumbini near Bhairahawa in the terai.

²The word *stūpa* owes itself to the form resulting from the piling up of materials in the form of a hemispherical mound with sepulchral content to begin with (*śārīrika*) but soon turning into memorials in the form of *pāribhogika* (*stūpas* containing the belongings of a saint, i.e., *arhat*, or a *pratyeka* Buddha), *uddeśika* (dedicatory or votive) and *mānushi* (terrestrial relics of a previous Buddha) *stūpas*. The word *chaitya* in Nepal is understood as an *uddeśika* or commemorative *stūpa* and is derived from the word *chitā* (funeral pyre), being made by the collection and piling of the required components (*chi*). For a detailed treatment of the subject please turn to pages 184-90 supra.

³Circa 249 B.C., i.e., in the 21st year of his coronation, as mentioned in the Lumbini pillar inscription of Asoka which is situated in District Bhairahawa of Nepal.

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echoed in recognizable phonetic transformation as Chabahil (pl. II) in Deopatan. These pioneers were followed by Vasubandhu in the 4th century A.D. and later Kamalaśīla, Padmasambhava, and Śāntarakshita in the 8th century, and Dipaṅkara Srijñāna Atīśa, in the 11th century, respectively. After the Muslim invasion and destruction of Buddhist monasteries in Bihar towards the end of the 13th and at the beginning of the 14th century, there was an overflow of Buddhists, both monks and nuns, and lay worshippers, into Nepal. The sources from which the new growing thoughts and pantheon of Buddhism flowed into Nepal were the Indian monasteries and centres of learning at Nalanda, Vikramasila, Odantapura and Jagaddala, respectively.

With the coming in of the Muslims in Bihar and Bengal, in the beginning of the 14th century, Buddhism in India received a severe jolt even though not the death-blow. In fact, the growing profligacy of the order arising out of promiscuity, lack of royal support, and the trappings of degenerate practices following from the misconstruction of Tantricism had already sapped the vitality of the religion in India. The innumerable monasteries concentrated in the region of Bihar were almost razed to the ground by the newcomers and the precious books and images revered in them consigned to the fire. The devout Buddhist monks as well as many Hindus, however, sought to save their lives, thoughts and ways of living by resorting hurriedly to escape into the almost impenetrable mountain fastnesses of Nepal. They thus precluded pursuit and saved from further destruction the precious manuscripts and texts of religion that they had managed to salvage and bring away with them. What was a loss for India was a gain for Nepal, equally with the new refugees and their lores of learning. Buddhists, in particular, brought with them their Mahāyāna texts, the most important of which was the *Prajñāpāramitā* and helped to enrich the hold of Buddhism and Hinduism alike in Nepal. As time passed Buddhism in the mountain habitat became part and parcel of the general tenor of the lives of the people. The monks began to marry and rear families and build up properties around the monasteries to which they belonged. The *stūpas*, *chaityas* and monasteries (*vihāra* or *bahāl* and *bahī* in Nepalese) transmitted to posterity, the common tradition of the two countries.

The vast assemblage of Buddhist sculptures in Nepal of the mediaeval and later times are based upon the *Sāadhanamālā*, *Nishpaññayogāvalī* and *Jñānasiddhi*, which were all composed in India. The physiognomy of the figures, however, began to portray increasingly Nepalese features from this time onwards. It must, however, be set down to the credit of Nepal that she carried forward unfettered for several centuries the tradition that had then ceased to flourish in India.

Among the Hindus the cult of Siva which was strongly entrenched as per inscrip-tional and literary evidence, from the oldest days of recorded history in Nepal continued to flourish throughout. Alongside evolved the cult of Ganesa, Surya, Vishnu and Krishna. The earliest inscription, singing praise of Vishnu is the Changu Narayana in-scription, dated A.D. 464, of Manadeva. Innumerable inscriptions and sculptures of the

theme such as Krishna subjugating the Kaliya demon, Vishnuvikrantamurti, Ananta-sayana, Varaha and Narasimha etc. indicate the popularity of the cult of Vishnu in Nepal from a very early time. The sacred precincts of the Paśupati temple are described in later inscriptions as the sacred region of Vāsuki (*Vāsukikshetra*). The Krishna cult received a fresh impetus in the 16th century after the emergence of Sri Chaitanya¹ in Bengal as fresh impulses of the *Bhakti* cult radiated in all directions from a corner in the eastern theatre of India. The effective hold of the cult exists till to-day and is seen, apart from the festivals connected with the Krishna cult, in the numerous Krishna temples in the valley.

The values of life in Nepal are based on the common mythologies of Nepal and India, namely, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas*, the *Gita*, the *Hitopadeśa*, the *Pañchatantra*, the *Chāṇakyaśloka*, and the *Dharmaśāstras* etc. in general. But they are overlaid on a substratum of the primitive demonolatry prevalent among the indigenous folks such as the Bhotas, Sherpas, and Newars etc. The continuance of festivals like the *Lākhe* are proof positive of the coexistence of the ancient traditions rooted in the soil.

Rama, the legendary hero of the epic *Rāmāyaṇa* and prince of Ayodhya, took the hand of Sita, the daughter of Janaka, king of Mithila, in the hoary past. This phenomenon has brought the two countries together in the religious field, for Rama is deified as an incarnation of Vishnu and Sita as that of Lakshmi. Ayodhya has been identified with modern Fyzabad in Uttar Pradesh in India, and Mithila as the region around Janakpur in the terai region of eastern Nepal. As though to clinch the close cultural and religious bonds that exist between the two countries there stands at Janakpur the well-known Rama-Janaki temple, which is commonly visited by thousands of pilgrims of both the countries on the anniversaries of Rama's birth, and marriage with Sita. The close emotional bonds arising as a result of the religious bond at Janakpur is matched by the emotions welling up commonly in every heart, Indian or Nepalese, day in and day out, at the Paśupati temple at Kathmandu, and most of all at Śivarātri.

The cult of Rāma has given rise to the cult of Hanuman, and he has assumed in course of time a place of considerable importance in Nepal as in India as a common object of respect and reverence, and as the epitome of devotion or *bhakti*. Nepal has

¹Sri Chaitanyadeva of Bengal (Gauḍadeśa) appears to have visited the Kathmandu valley about the year A.D. 1464 during the reign of Yakshamalla as stated in the Kāshṭhamaṇḍapa copper plate inscription (Regmi, *op. cit.*, III, p. 79) in the following words : *Śrī Yakshamallaḥ Prabhurājate asau Śrī Gauḍadeśāgatadātriyaḥ Chaitanyanātho varadānaśaundah*. This is somewhat vitiated by the date as the date of Sri Chaitanya's visit seems to be earlier than the traditional date assigned to his birth, i.e., 1486. The inscription, however, records Sri Chaitanya having sought to buy land in Nepal for allocation to the *Avadhūtas*. The king ordained the gift of *annadāna* to the Yogis every year and made an everlasting endowment for it. This, if true, would have strengthened the cult of Krishna and reinforced *bhaktivāda* in Nepal. The year is mentioned in word as *Srimannepālavarsha Haravadana Vasuḥ Kāmavāṇe*, which cannot but read 585, which works out to A.D. 1464.

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returned the compliment by contributing the cult of Gorakhnatha who is worshipped commonly between Nepal and India till this day.

That the practice of holding discourses on *Śāstras* and *Smritis* was prevalent, as in India, is indicated by the Patan Mulchok copper plate Newari inscription of the year 795 (A.D. 1674) of kings Srinivasamalla (of Kathmandu) and Jitamitramalla of Bhaktapur, which ordains the delivering of the discourses in front of (the temple of) their *Ishtadevatā*. In this context a number of learned scholars, some of them, particularly nos. 7-12, of the list below, obviously of Indian origin, are mentioned as follows : (1) Dharmaju Upadhyaya; (2) Devendra Upadhyaya; (3) Harinatha Upadhyaya; (4) Ramachandra Upadhyaya; (5) Madhusudana Upadhyaya; (6) Kirtiraja Upadhyaya; (7) Yadava Bhattacharya; (8) Mukha Bhattacharya; (9) Sadasiva Bhattacharya; (10) Varesvara Chakravarti; (11) Rupanarayana Chakravarti; (12) Vaidyanath Raya; (13) Vachhayi Ojha, etc. These are the names of the participants, and the names indicate close contact with Mithila, Bihar and Bengal (Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 167).

It is interesting to record that the Kathmandu Durbar Square copper plate inscription of Lakshmi-Narasimhamalla of the year 753 (A.D. 1632) mentions the names of several Daśanāmī Saniyāsis, in the classifications of Giri, Puri, Bhārati, and Digamvara, who had obviously come from the direction of India and lived on in Nepal (Regmi, *ibid.* p. 65).

The religious synthesis that existed and had given rise to a proper understanding among all the sects is reflected in the *Kālikāstotra* composed by king Pratapamalla and recorded in the doorway of the Taleju temple in Kathmandu "written in gold letters". In the 37th and 38th lines it describes Kālikā as the *Gāyatrī* of *Vaidikas*, Lakshmī (*Jalanidhitanyā*) of the Vaishnavas, *Māheśī* (Durgā) of the Saivites (*Māheśānām*), and *Vajravārāhī* (*Vārāhivajrapūrvā*) of the Yogis and Buddhists (*Yoginām Saugatānām*). (Regmi, *ibid.*, p. 100). Incidentally the influence of Sankaracharya is noticeable in the *stotra*.

Anciently there were twelve *vyotirliṅgas*, or *liṅgas* emerging as shafts *par excellence* of dazzling radiance. The desecrated *liṅga* of Somnatha in Gujarat and Viśvanātha in Varanasi and the Mahākāla in Ujjain are instances of *vyotirliṅgas* in India. The emergence of the *liṅga* of Paśupati at Kathmandu is comparable to the *vyotirliṅgas* in India. Nevertheless, Nepal harbours this most sacred shrine of Lord Paśupati even as India prides upon her shrine immortal of Lord Viśvanātha at Varanasi. People of both the countries undergo no end of trouble and hardship to be able to obtain even a fleeting glimpse of the Lord, at Kathmandu or at Varanasi, all through the year.

3. PLACES OF PILGRIMAGE

In the trail of religious merit people of both the countries long to make pilgrimages to sacred sites wherever they might be. The *Puranic* group of seven or eight sacred cities, namely, Ayodhya (Fyzabad), Mathura, Māyā, Kāśī (Varanasi), Kāñchī, Avantikā (Ujjain), Puri and Dvārāvati (Dwarka), all of which are situated in the

different parts of India, cast a spell on the Nepalese and Indians alike. There are many more places besides, namely, Prayaga (Allahabad), Gaya, Navadvipa, Hardwar, Rishikesh, Kedarnath, Badrinath, Vrindavan, Nasik, Pushkar, Tirupati, Srirangam, Ramesvaram and Kanya Kumarka which are commonly visited by people from Nepal and India alike. Likewise people from both these lands long to visit Gosainthan, or Makinath in Nepal, in utter disregard of the hardships of the journey.

The places of pilgrimage sacred and dear to the Buddhists of the two countries, for that matter of Buddhists from all over the globe, are either in Nepal or India, namely, at Lumbini in Nepal and Bodhgaya, Sarnath, Kusinagar, Sravasti, Vaisali, and Kausambi, respectively, in India. Kapilavastu, which had so long been identified with Tilaurakot, about 3 km. to the north-west of Taulihawa, has since been traced near Piprahwa in District Basti, Uttar Pradesh.

Mention has already been made above of the practice of discourses on *Śāstras* and *Smritis* and of the participation by several Indian scholars in such discourses. The presence of scholars and non-scholars also, inferably from India, at the installation of the Krishna temple at Patan is suggestively indicated in the Patan Krishna temple stone inscription of Jaya Siddhinarasimhamalla of the year 757 (=A.D. 1637) for receiving gifts on the occasion.¹

4. SOCIAL LIFE

The social life in Nepal is broadly comparable to the pattern of social life in India. The society in both the countries is divided into the groups or castes based on profession and birth. The basic division of four *varṇas*, namely, Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra, respectively, was further subdivided into innumerable castes and compartments as late as the fourteenth century by king Jaya Sthitimalla.² Nearly four centuries later Prithvinarayana Shah described his people as a veritable garden (*phūlwārī*) of four *varṇas* and thirty-six castes.³ All of them were held by him as his children and he considered that the prosperity of the kingdom depended upon the prosperity of his subjects. But under the Ranas the caste often became the subject of the Prime Minister's fiat, and could be changed at his will and pleasure. Nepal has adopted a more liberal attitude towards personal and social relations by sponsoring the anciently approved practice of *anuloma* marriages, i.e., marriage between

¹See Yogi Naraharinath, *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, pp. 210-12. The presence of a (Tamil) Brahmin from the bank of Kaveri as a preceptor of Sivasimha, named Narayana along with his son Madhava, in the Kathmandu valley as late as the year 734 (=A.D. 1613) is indicated by the Bhringareswar inscription of Sivasimha. He was well versed in the *Vedas* and *Śāstras* and set up the images of Mahadeva, Kumara and Ganesa, near the Bhringareswar temple, (Regmi *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 52-3).

²See Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 182. The stone slab inscription of Parthivendramalla lying on the platform of a small Siva temple in the courtyard of the Paśupati temple states the reinforcement afresh of the *Varṇāśrama-dharma*, by Ratnamalla. The inscription is dated 799 (=A.D. 1678).

³In his *Divyopadeśa*.

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a man of higher caste and a woman of any of the lower castes other than Śūdras, though the offspring of such marriages was to have the caste of the mother¹. This phenomenon together with the commonly permitted multiple marriages saved the Hindu society in Nepal from disruption or from the inroads of other and more permissive social systems. But in both the regions the practice of multiple marriages trampled to an extent upon the rights of the individual in general, and made a palpable difference between the status of men and that of women. Nepal has now opted for monogamy.

Even the Newars, who appear to have been the indigenous inhabitants of the valley, adopted the common pattern of life that came into being in the region, combining their ancestral demonolatry with the worship of deities in the temples. For the conduct of their religious ceremonies, however, they did not have born Brahmins among them. They had, therefore, to import Brahmin priests from the region of Mithila to officiate on their behalf at religious functions. This would *ipso facto* imply that either they preferred Brahmins from outside to work for them or that the local Brahmins grudged them such services. In course of time such Brahmins, bearing the tell-tale surnames of Jha, Joshi, Misra or Upadhyaya, became part and parcel of the Newari society even to the extent of forgetting their mother tongue and adopting Newari as the only medium of expression.

That the kings were interested in regulating the duration of pollution caused by birth and death is indicated by the Patan Mulchok copper plate inscription of Yoganarendramalla of the year 821 (=A.D. 1700) to regulate the duration of *aśaucha* (pollution). According to *Smṛitiśāstra*, the duration of pollution for the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, respectively, were correspondingly 10, 12, 15 and 30 days. The king ordained in addition an annual pollution of three days equally for all classes. The *sapinda*s (agnates) are to perform a purificatory bath at the end of a year, whereas one day's pollution is to be observed in the case of the death of a son or wife. But pollution over three nights was to be observed in the case of a woman who became a *Sati* by being burnt with the dead husband.²

5. VALUES OF LIFE

In both Nepal and India the mundane life is considered as ephemeral. The supreme goal of life is commonly held as *moksha* (or *nirvāṇa*), i.e., emancipation from the eternal cycle of births and deaths both among the Hindus and Buddhists alike. This ideal is based on the commonly held belief in the theory of *karma* and the transmigration of souls. The seeds of this conception are to be found in the *Upanishads*. The people of Nepal are, therefore, generally very god-fearing and are naturally reluctant to do any harm to his fellow beings and seek to do only good to others as far as

¹*Manusmṛiti*, 3, śloka 12. One outstanding exception was the marriage of king Rana Bahadur Shah with a Brahmin widow. To sanctify this marriage he adopted the stratagem of obtaining the approval of the grandees of the kingdom and had it recorded in a copper plate.

²Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 233-34.

they are able to do so. This is, however, not to assert or claim that there are no differences of opinion among the people or disputes, or even crimes for individual gain, or no exceptions to this broad generalization.

6. FAMILY LIFE

The family life in Nepal is comparable to that in India, for families in both the countries have lived through the centuries jointly under a common roof and under the guidance and authority of a common head of the family, who has usually been the eldest member of the household. Though this system has served in the past to hold both family and society together, the system has yielded, both in Nepal and India, to the onslaught of economic inequities, greater love of individual freedom and the institution of single marriages.

7. LANGUAGES

Like India, Nepal too have several languages spoken by her people, namely, Nepali, Newari, Bhote or Tibetan, Tamang, Hindi¹, Maithili and Tharu etc. Of these languages Newari, Bhote and Tamang belong to the Tibeto-Burman group, and represent the languages of either the indigenous people or the immigrants from the north, and the others belong to the Indo-Aryan family and are closely linked to the Sanskrit language of India.

As a language Sanskrit is studied well in Nepal and Nepal can count with pride several good scholars of the subject, and Sanskrit has been almost throughout the span of history the principal medium of all genteel and formal records.

8. THE SCRIPTS

It is interesting to record that both Nepali and Newari are written to-day in the common Devanagari script which is the basic script of several languages in India. This script evolved by stages from the earliest known scripts of the Lichchhavis, which were in vogue in two forms called, respectively, the earlier or *Pūrva-Lichchhavi* and the later or *Uttara-Lichchhavi* scripts. The Lichchhavi script in its two ramifications are akin to the script of the Gupta inscriptions, which were in use in northern India between the 4th and 7th centuries A.D. In fact, there is not much difference between the two scripts in their two corresponding phases in Nepal. This script is evolved out of the earlier Brahmi scripts, the earliest example of which is contained in the numerous edicts of Asoka of the 3rd century B.C. The Sunga and Kushana phases of the script

¹There is reference to the use of Hindi in an inscription in regard to the Tilanga Palace near Makhantol in Kathmandu.

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are available in plenty in India, but are almost totally missing in Nepal.¹ The source of inspiration of the script, therefore, is obvious.

The basic Nepalese script, however, underwent a slight modification under the Mallas (1200-1768) but the corresponding phase is absent in India. Likewise the intermediate phases of the script between the 11th and 14th centuries have not yet been traced in Nepal, except in the manuscripts which display the distinctive Malla features from the beginning. Side by side there were other scripts prevalent in Nepal such as the Maithili, the Tibetan, the Rañjanā, and the Bhujimol. Though the Tibetan script, itself an adaptation of the prevalent Gupta script of north India, was introduced in Tibet at the instance of king Sron-tsan-gampo, it is still in use limitedly, the other scripts having gone into disuse. The Rañjanā is an ornate and florid adaptation of the Newari script met with rather rarely in the inscriptions but more often in the manuscripts of Nepal.

9. THE NEPALESE CALENDAR

The Nepalese records are very accurately dated and the chronological record gives us the solar and lunar mansions, the day of the week, the *tithi* or day of the bright or dark fortnight as the case may be, the month and the era. This only shows their firm and long belief in astrology and penchant for following the auspicious moments for different acts as sanctified by astrology. The earliest records, of the Lichchhavis, is in the Saka era, beginning in A.D. 78², founded by the Kushana king Kanishka. But in A.D. 595 (or 576) Amsuvarma, the Thakuri successor or Sivadeva I, initiated an era of his own starting from his accession to the throne, but this does not make the dates specifically clear as the dates, also recorded in the regnal year, of Asoka do. In A.D. 879, Raghavadeva introduced an era which was, to begin with, called *Paśupati bhaṭṭāraka sarivatsara*. In course of time, it came to be called the Nepal Samvat (often described in common parlance as the Newari era) and was used by the Malla rulers of the Nepal valley from the 14th century to the year 1768 when Prithvinarayana Shah reintroduced the Saka era, as it had been in vogue in Gorkha throughout ever since the founding of the dynasty at Gorkha in the 15th century.

¹Except in the coins of the Mitra kings or of the Kushanas discovered from time to time in the terai area of Nepal, the scripts intermediate between the Maurya and Gupta writing can be said to be totally absent in Nepal.

That the Lichchhavis should have been familiar with the prevalent script of the Guptas during their stay within the confines of the Gupta empire cannot be disputed. Samudragupta claimed to have obliged the contemporary ruler of Nepal to acknowledge his suzerainty by the payment of tribute and obeisance, and the contact thus established was close enough for their cultural interconnexion. The Nepalese *Vamśāvalis* (D.R. Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, p. 126) indicate the priority of the Guptas over the Lichchhavis in Nepal. Though a slight historical anachronism, this only emphasizes the close interrelationship between the Guptas and Lichchhavis.

²It is not necessary to go into the details of the discussions leading to this inference, as the facts are well known.

The Saka era remained in vogue in Nepal till A.D. 1893, when the Vikrama Samvat, which is current to-day, was introduced as the national era. It is well known that the era is attributed to the elusively legendary king, Vikramaditya of Ujjain, and begins in 57 B.C. Now and then, as a variety, even the Kali era has been employed in conjunction with other eras. All these eras, except the Nepal Samvat, have been used at one time or another in India as well.

10. HISTORICAL CONNEXION

India and Nepal have also been throughout in close touch with each other from the beginning of history. Buddha is the first known historical personality of the sub-continent. He was born on Nepalese soil, but made India his field of work. His contribution to the world of thought is now the common heritage of man.

The next great historical figure who brought Nepal and India closer together is the emperor Asoka. It was he who left the only record with the help of which we are able to-day to identify Lumbini, the birth-place of the Buddha. He is also credited by tradition with the founding of Patan, and the setting up of five Buddhist *stūpas* in Patan. He, it was who is believed to have introduced the *stūpa* or *chaitya* cult in Nepal and to have popularized it in India, and there is unfounded belief that he may have laid the foundation of the Swayambhu *stūpa* in Kathmandu. He is clearly responsible also for the legacy to posterity of the tradition of reverence to the eight *Mānushi* Buddhas by recording his repair to the *stūpa* of the previous Buddha Kanakamuni at Nigalisagar¹ in Nepal, not very far from Lumbini.

Furthermore, Nepal's tradition has it that Asoka's daughter Charumati married a Nepalese prince called Devadatta and settled down in Nepal. When, towards the latter part of her life material comforts of living disgusted her, she renounced the world and became a nun, founding a monastery or nunnery, which to this day echoes her name, in the form of a group of monasteries and *chaityas* called Chabahil² in Deopatan not far from the temple of Paśupati.

That there was trade between India and Nepal from the end of the 4th century B.C. or a little later is borne out by a reference to a variety of blankets called '*Naipālika*', i.e., of Nepalese origin, as mentioned in a list of imported articles in the *Arthaśāstra*. This would only strengthen the possibility of Asoka's contact with *Nepāla*, but proof would depend on the result of the use of the judicious spade in the *stūpas* and habitational mounds of Patan.

¹Kanakamuni was a Pratyeka-Buddha, (Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 68). His *stūpa* was a Buddhist *tīrtha* and was visited by Yuan Chwang who also noticed the Asokan pillar with an inscription. This record shows that the cult of the previous Buddhas was prevalent in the 3rd century B.C. The pillar is now lying on the western bank of the Negali Sagar tank, near Nigliva, Nepalese terai.

²The *chaityas*, sculptures and monastic remains as they stand to-day at Chabahil are very much later than the days of Asoka, for the earliest sculpture of Buddha standing in the area would not go back beyond the 5th century A.D.

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As time rolls on we find the Lichchhavis¹ entrenched in the central valley of Kathmandu as early as the 5th century A.D. What connexion the Lichchhavis of Nepal had with the republican Lichchhavis of Vaisali, who are known from the times of Buddha, is not clear. But that some connexion did exist is indicated by the high position given to the Lichchhavis by the Gupta emperor Chandragupta I, who married a Lichchhavi princess called Kumaradevi, in the beginning of the 4th century A.D. He had the fact recorded in his coins in recognition of the support he must have received from the Lichchhavis in his bid for power. His son and successor took pride upon being a descendant of the Lichchhavis and described himself in his inscriptions as *Lichchhavi-dauhitra* (daughter's son, i.e., grandson of the Lichchhavi ruler). Nepal is mentioned as a friendly kingdom on the border in his times.

About three centuries later we find Nepal and Tibet making common cause against Arunāśva for his usurpation of the throne of Kanauj after the death of Harsha in A.D. 647.

¹The Lichchhavis, who were well established at Vaisali at the dawn of Indian history and figured prominently during the life time of the Buddha, had to bow out of the centre of the stage after the defeat of the Vajjian confederacy, at the hands of Ajatasatru. What happened to them thereafter, and where they lived cannot be stated with any degree of certainty till they are mentioned in the coins of Chandragupta I of Magadha (320 A.D.). That they were closely linked with the rulers of Magadha is clearly indicated by the reference to an ancestor of the Lichchhavis of Nepal, i.e., Supushpa, born in Pushpapura (Pataliputra) in the Paśupati stone slab inscription of Jayadeva II, of the year 159 (in Amsuvarma era, beginning in A.D. 595 or 576). That the Lichchhavis had blue blood flowing in their veins is indicated by the reference to them in the *Māhāparinibbāna Sūttānta* as Kashatriyas, and in the Paśupati inscription of Jayadeva II to Ikshvakus (Kshatriyas) as their ancestors. The excavations at Vaisali have revealed the existence of remains of Sunga and Kushana periods before the advent into the region of the Guptas. The Lichchhavis, therefore, must have lain low for several generations before carving out a principality in the Nepal valley shortly before the rise of the Guptas in the 4th century A.D. Almost the last flicker of the Lichchhavis of old occurs in a reference to a *Samgha* of the Lichchhavis in Kāutilya's *Arthaśāstra* (B.C. Law, *Some Kshatriya Tribes*, p. 116). *Arthaśāstra*, Book XI, Chapter 1, Śloka 5, says as follows :

“*Lichhivika Vrijika-Mallaka-Madraka*

Kukurakuru-Pāñchālādayoh Rājāsabdopajīvinah.”

This shows that towards the end of the first millennium B.C. the Lichchhavis enjoyed some semblance of royal or administrative power. In this context the views of Upendra Thakur may be seen in *History of Mithila*, Darbhanga, 1956.

In contrast Manu describes the Lichchhavis as *Vrātyas*, for having fallen from the practice of the duties of the Kshatriyas, and probably for espousing the heterodox causes. As early as Buddha's time they were supporters of Buddha, and on his demise they built a *stūpa* over their portion of Buddha's remains at Vaisali. Excavations on the ancient *stūpa* mound at Vaisali has confirmed the evidence of literature. Jayadeva's inscription refers to Vrishadeva, the first of the historical Lichchhavi Kings as *Saugatasāsana-pakshapāti* which might mean, at most, that he was a patron of the way of the Buddha. Earlier still, the mother of Mahavira Jina was a Lichchhavi lady called Trisalā.

The theory of the temporary ebbing out of the Lichchhavis and their resurgence after several centuries has been advocated by H.N. Jha in *The Lichchhavis* (of Vaisali), Varanasi, 1970, pp. 98 ff.

In the 8th century, *i.e.*, about 754 A.D., we know of a king called Jayadeva II,¹ who is proud of his matrimonial connexions with Rajyamati, of the Bhagadatta family and daughter of Sri Harshadeva, ruler of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kalinga and Kosala, as also of his extraction from Vatsadevi, daughter of Sri Bhogavarma of the Maukhari dynasty and granddaughter (*dauhitri*), from the daughter's side, of Adityasena of Magadha.

From the beginning of the 7th century to the end of the 8th Nepal seems to have passed through a stage of loose hegemony of Tibet. How this came about is not known. But the Kathmandu Lagantol inscription of Sivadeva² mentions *bhoṭṭa-visṭi* meaning forced labour that was due from Nepal in the service of the Tibetans. Amsuvarman seems to have kept Tibet at bay, or at any rate bought peace by giving his daughter Bhrikuti in marriage (if the tradition is to be believed) to king Sron-tsan-gampo. Bhrikuti is credited with introducing Buddhism into Tibet. She is revered now as a goddess called the green Tārā (Hario Tārā), while the Chinese wife of Sron-tsan-gampo is recognized as white Tārā (Seto Tārā).

That Nepal was under some influence, during the period, of the Tibetans is indicated by the name of the king of Nepal, Aramudi, who resisted the invasion of Jayapida of Kashmir the second half of the 8th century A.D.

The Nepal Samvat started in A.D. 879 has been taken by some scholars to mark the termination of the Tibetan hegemony.³

It is about this time that the Tantra cult enters Nepal from the direction of Bengal and overwhelms both Saivism and Buddhism alike. It is held by tradition that Buddhism in its Tantric form captured the imagination of the people of Nepal and overwhelmed them so much that the very existence of Saivism or Brahmanical Hinduism was threatened. Tradition gives the credit for the discomfiture of Buddhism and restoration of Saivism to Sankaracharya, the great saint and thinker of south India.⁴

¹The Paśupati temple stone slab inscription of Jayadeva II, dated in the year 159 (of the Amsuvarman era). See Gnoli, *op. cit.*, no. LXXXI, pp. 115-19.

²*Ibid.*, No. LXXVII, p. 108.

³H.C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 193.

⁴The Paśupati image at Kathmandu is worshipped once every day in conjunction with the *Śrīyantra* or diagrammatic representation in addition to the daily round of worship. This practice as also the practice of employing priests from the south of the Narmada for conducting the worship at the temple are attributed to Sankaracharya, but *Śaṅkaradigvijayam* by Vidyaranya, which purports to be an account of his exploits does not refer to his visit to Nepal. The question, therefore, of Sankara's association with those activities would not arise, though the tradition lingers.

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It was the time when Advaita Vadantism seems to have been introduced into the mountain kingdom.¹

Another great event of significance bringing Nepal and India together that took place a little later was the founding of a dynasty at Simraongarh in the terai region in A.D. 1097 by Nanyadeva, hailing from Karnataka. The dynasty ruled for a period of 227 years till A.D. 1324, when their territory was invaded by the Muslims. The last king of the dynasty Harisimha Deva sought safety in flight and took shelter in Bhaktapur. A good deal of exchange of ideas took place as a result of this intimate contact with a dynasty of south Indian origin. These ideas manifested themselves in the fields of religion, art and architecture.

It is interesting again to observe that Rajalladevi, granddaughter of Harisimha Deva, married Jaya Sthitimalla, a rather obscure person, and helped him to ascend the throne of Nepal (Kathmandu) and found the glory of the house of the Mallas, the first king of which dynasty had come to power in A.D. 1200. South Indian influence continued to play a prominent role in the affairs of Nepal for a long time. In fact Pratapamalla, one of the most illustrious rulers of the Malla dynasty, traces his descent directly from Nanyadeva.²

Another event of significance had taken place towards the end of the 15th century, during the reign of Jaya Yakshamalla (1442-1482). He is credited with the tradition of employing priests to the temple of Paśupati only from south India. The extent of cultural exchanges as a result of this momentous event can well be imagined.

At the beginning of the 14th century the eastern parts of India had come under the throes of Islamic expansionism, and, as a result of the devastating iconoclastic action that followed in its wake, numberless people sought shelter in Nepal, and brought with them ideas that enriched or diversified the lives of the people at once, for they had brought with them, not merely their ways of life, but religious beliefs,

¹That there is a current tradition of Sankaracharya having actually come into Nepal is indicated by an interesting account recorded in a Newari document called *Brihaditihāsa—Saṃhitā-Sāra* (*Saṃskṛita Sandeśa*, no. 12). It recounts the story of a conflict between the Buddhists and Brahmins having emerged in Nepal, resulting in the discomfiture of the latter in the year 111 (990 A.D.). It tells about the arrival of Sankaracharya from Kashi in the year 222 (=A.D. 1101), the slaughter of 700 Brahmins in the year 111 (*i.e.*, A.D. 990), at the hands of the Buddhists, the slaughter of a hundred Buddhists at Chabahil in A.D. 1101, and the revival of Brahmanical Hinduism in that year. It goes on to expatiate upon the coming into the valley of the Magars and the burning down of all the *Vihāras* (monasteries) upto the time of Jaya Prakasamalla in A.D. 1768. The accounts are a little confused and anachronistic but the import is clear.

²Pratapamalla's Kathmandu Krishna temple inscription of the year 769 N.S. (A.D. 1668), traces the genealogy of the Mallas from the solar dynasty of Rama, with a direct descent from Nanyadeva of Karnataka. He mentions one of his wives, from the Karnataka area, as *Kārṇāṭī*. Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 87.

literary lores and artistic traditions together. Nepal, therefore, was provided with the opportunity of earning the unique distinction of preserving a great deal of what was threatened with extinction in India.

In A.D. 1349, the valley of Kathmandu itself was invaded by Sultan Shamsuddin Ilyas of Bengal. He looted and plundered the three cities of Bhaktapur, Lalitpur, and Kathmandu, devastating many of the religious edifices, including the Swayambhu *stūpa*, the Paśupati temple and the Pimbahal *stūpa* in Lalitpur. The event, however, was like a cyclone that raged and lashed but left the people cold and unimpressed for they did not take them long to rebuild from the ashes.

Shortly, after this incident we have an account of China claiming suzerainty over Nepal,¹ as recorded in the annals of the Ming dynasty, between A.D. 1384 and A.D. 1414, by assuming the responsibility and prerogative of conferring upon the king of Nepal the royal title of King of Nepal. Regardless of these one-sided claims, the link between Nepal and China at this time, if there was any, was no more than tenuous, and more shadowy than substantial. At any rate the relations between the two countries were friendly as would be normal between neighbours.

But the Muslim invasion in the distant lands of Rajasthan in western India commencing as early as the 10th century and continuing through the centuries had set in motion a tremendous folk movement from the west towards the Himalayan heights for safety. There was a similar move from the direction of Kashmir after the introduction of persecution of Hindus in the beginning of the 15th century under Sikandar-but-Shikan. These movements converged upon the western parts of Nepal. The refugees brought with them their cultural traditions and began to live with the people who spoke the *Khasa-Kurā* and carved out several principalities in the areas. One of these was a kingdom of the western Mallas of the Dullu and Dailekh area in western Nepal. They are different from the Newari speaking Mallas of Nepal, in the Kathmandu valley. One of these immigrant folks is said to be the descendants of the royal family of Chittor in Rajasthan. The founding of the Kingdom of Gorkha² in the 15th century is attributed to them. It is interesting to record that the temples built by them in the northern areas near the Jumla are of the *śikhara* style.

The traditions which the rulers of Gorkha had brought with them from their distant homelands were retained, no doubt with a genuine pride, and transmitted later to the whole of Nepal which they united between A.D. 1769 and A.D. 1814.

Even long before the Shah dynasty of Gorkha had set themselves to the task of unification of Nepal, the house was greatly impressed and influenced by the Mughal

¹Sylvain Levi, *Le Nepal*, Paris, 1905, Vol. II, p. 228.

²Contrary to popular belief, Gorkha is the name of the capital city of the little kingdom in the lap of the hills and this name was transferred to soldiers from the area recruited by the British into their army, and it gradually encompassed the people as a whole. Even the Parvatiya language of Nepal came to be call it Gorkhālī, though it is now more appropriate to call it Nepali. The present rulers of Nepal were originally the rulers of Gorkha. Gorkha thus enjoys the distinction of providing Nepal with its ruling family. See also G. Tucci, *The Discovery of the Malla*, London, 1962. Fig. 46 shows *śikhara* 'shrines of' the Mallas near Jumla.

rulers of India.¹ Tradition has it that the family title of Shah itself was conferred upon a ruler of the dynasty by a Mughal emperor. The infiltration of a large number of Persian words in the Nepalese language took place as a result of the close contact with the Mughals. The adoption of high sounding titles by the Ranas and the kings such as Shamsheer Jung Bahadur is also to be attributed to the same source.

That the Nepalese people considered themselves as part of the Indian sub-continent culturally is indicated by repeated reference to Nepal being a part of the *Bharata-khaṇḍa* in the *Jambūdvīpa* in the following tell-tale manner : *Śvetavarāhakalpe vaivasvate manvantare adya śrikaliyuge jambūdvīpe bharatakhāṇḍe subhāratavarashe Himavatpāde Vāsukikshetre Śrī Nepāladeśe Paśupati-sannidhāne*, etc. One of the earliest inscriptions to refer to this is the copper plate inscription affixed to the Kāshṭhamāṇḍapa at Kathmandu² and dated to Nepal Samvat 605 or A.D. 1484.

11. MUSIC

To-day the popular music of Nepal is largely of the folk tradition prevalent in the Himalayan hills though they have a classical basis. Numerous inscriptions of the late mediaeval period in Nepal are musical compositions and provide information on the *rāgas* and *tālas* in which they were to be sung. These conform to the classical Indian (Maithili) tradition, which appears to have been introduced into Nepal by Harisimha Deva during his refuge there, if not earlier during the period of Nanyadeva, after being driven away by Ghiyasuddin Tughlak. This tradition in any case was begun by Nanyadeva, who was author of *Sarasvatī Hridayālāṅkāra*, as indicated in the colophons of the manuscripts of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*.³ The inscription of Nanyadeva mentions his book as *Grantha Mahārṇava*.⁴ He is stated to have dealt thoroughly with 160 *rāgas*. Jagajyotimalla of Bhaktapur was himself a great lover of music and caused an inscription on music, now much worn out, to be engraved on a stone slab, and had it installed near the entrance to the Taleju Bhavani temple in the Durbar Square at Bhaktapur. The musical inscriptions generally have a large part in the Maithili language⁵ which points

¹King Pratapamalla (1641-1674 A.D.) struck silver coins in the style of the coins of the Jahangir. Regmi (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 69) brings out that the court of Pratapamalla was honoured by several scholars from India, namely, Lambakarna Bhatta from Maharashtra, Jñānananda from the Deccan and Narasimha Thakur from Tirhut.

²Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, III, p. 85. Several other instances can be cited to indicate this conception that lasted through several centuries.

³Upendra Thakur, *History of Mithila*, Darbhanga, 1956, pp. 382-3, see also J.K. Mishra, *History of Maithili Literature*, I, pp. 31-38.

⁴*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, IX, p. 303.

⁵It is significant that the Kathmandu Taleju temple inscription of Pratapamalla of the year 792 (=AD 1671) records 8 songs in the Maithili language and at the beginning of each song the *rāga* and *tāla* are mentioned. Two of the songs are interestingly in the *Pahādīa rāga* and one of them is in the *Sāṇḍala tāla*, and the other in *Cho-o-ekatāla*. The last five lines of the inscription (lines 52-55) are, however, in Newari (Regmi, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 147-51). Yet another example of compositions of supplication to goddess Bhavani, in Sanskrit and Maithili, with indications of the *rāga* and *tāla*, can be found in the Bhaktapur stone slab inscription found in the vicinity of the palace. It is dated 798 (=A.D. 1677) and of the time of Jitmitramalla (*ibid.*, pp. 178-81).

to the source of inspiration, indicating yet another area of cultural interaction between Nepal and India.

12. SCULPTURE

The close contacts with India throughout history affected the art and architecture of Nepal from the beginning. The earliest influence was that of the artists who flourished during the imperial rule of the Guptas of Magadha. Later the Pala artists introduced their own idioms, which the Nepalese adapted and transformed into a style of their own, not basically different from the Pala style, yet having a personality of its own. This influence is to be seen in the *bas relief* style of sculpture which became characteristic of Nepalese art.

The Senas too inducted their own influence in the elongated form of the figures and ornateness. This is to be noticed in the region around Simraongarh, the capital of the Karnataka dynasty established by Nanyadeva.

But by the beginning of the 14th century, when the creative arts of India had been crushed and were lying low and, therefore, ceased to flow from India, Nepal began to evolve her own idioms in sculpture, introducing her own physiognomy and decorative features. Thematically, however, the sculptures of the gods and goddesses, which were all meant for worship, were rooted to the common textual heritage of Nepal and India. The devastations caused by the depredations of the Khas and Magars, and of the invasion of Sultan Shamsuddin Ilyas in the 14th century were contributory factors to the creation and evolution of new styles, which is first seen in the Paśupati figure (pl. LXXI) of the 14th century but becomes distinct in the 16th century figure of Vasudhārā in bronze (pl. LXII). A 17th century sculpture of Narasimha (pl. LXXIII) fixed at the entrance to the Hanuman Dhoka palace and the gilt copper image of Garuḍa (frontispiece) mounted on a Garuḍa pillar in front of the Krishna temple at Patan are tell-tale evidences.

The dress and headgear of Bhupatindramalla (pl. LXXIV) as shown in his portrait sculpture in front of the Taleju Bhavani temple in the Durbar Square at Bhaktapur as well as in several sculptures of the period (16th-17th centuries) recall familiar portraits in Rajasthan.

13. ARCHITECTURAL PROTOTYPES IN INDIA AND THEIR INTERACTION WITH NEPAL

(i) General

The story in the field of architecture is the same in the diverse forms of *dhuṅge-dhārās*, monasteries (*viḥāras*), *stūpas* or *chaityas*, temples of the *śikhara* or the so-called pagoda styles, or common man's houses, or palaces. From the beginning of the 19th century, however, western influence affected the palatial structures. This began to infiltrate during the days of Nepal's contact with the French under the Prime Ministership of Bhimsen Thapa (1806-1837). But this influence became accentuated during the hegemony of the Ranas (1847-1951), and a number of palaces with exotic features came into existence under the patronage of the rich. See also page 46 ante.

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Though the basic structural forms are common in both Nepal and India, Nepal introduced some differences as well. This is seen particularly in the multi-storied form, or even the meanest house, and in the exuberance of carving on the wooden brackets (*tunāls*), which is Nepal's very own contribution, though there are parallels in the hills tracts of India such as Chamba or Kangra, Himachal Pradesh or even in the plains such as Gujarat and Kerala. There is an aspect of similarity between the erotic *mithuna* figures on the lowest tier of the brackets in Nepal with the erotic figures introduced on the spire and elsewhere in stone on some of the temples in India such as those in Khajuraho or the Sun temple at Konarak. But the treatment is different in each region, though the purpose in both areas may broadly have been similar. In the complex of *śikhara* shrines, Nepal dispensed with the series of axial chambers in front for purposes of congregation, keeping only the open porch surmounted by the *śikhara* over pillars as *sukanāsa*, and introducing miniature shrines as isolated items arranged around each facet of the *śikhara* is symmetry, taking a leaf from out of the Islamic and Rajasthan styles of the mediaeval period. But the basic structure of the shrine proper remained the same in both countries.

The so-called pagoda type of temples have their parallels in several parts of India and even outside, such as Burma, Thailand, Cambodia (Kampuchea) and China, though it cannot *prima facie* be suggested that either Nepal or India owed it to the other, though the established priority of the style in India and, therefore, the possibility of its impact on neighbouring countries cannot be ruled out, on the contrary, strongly emphasized. These parallelisms can, however, be taken as best as the natural response of the regions to the vagaries and needs of the climate in each region of their occurrence based on a basic ideological concept coming from the land of origin. And ideas, which are believed to have wings, would flow naturally from earlier prototypes to later exuberance.

With so much in common between India and Nepal it is but natural that India would contribute substantially to the evolution and development of the arts of Nepal, not excluding architecture. But it must be stated to the credit of Nepal that she turned her genius to the transformation of the impulses and influences received from the neighbourhood to suit her own needs and circumstances. It is to the analysis of the broad aspects of the influence that affected the form and profile of architecture, especially temple architecture in Nepal, that we must now turn. In this context let it be stated at once that in the architectural forms of the *dhūṅge-dhārās*, *tūte-dhārās*, *pāṭis*, *powāhs*, common men's houses, including the quadrangular courts called *choks* (Skr. *chatushka*), or the *vihāras* (monasteries) called *bahis*, *bahāls* or *bahils*, as well as the solid monolithic or structural *stūpas*, properly called *chaityas*, the architectural complexes of the Durbar Squares (pls. XXVI and XXVII) in each large township (seat of the crown) or the quadrangles abutting the palace complexes or of shrine enclosures, with a row of an odd number of gilt metal *kalasas* (pitchers) rising above the ridge of the roof over the *sanctum sanctorum* to indicate its location, as in the case of the Mulchok in Patan containing a temple of Bhavani on one cardinal side of the court, or the Taleju Bhavani

temple at Bhaktapur, or gateways, *toranas* (tympanums over the entrance doorway to a shrine or a monastic complex) and stone pillars, square on plan and supporting an extraordinarily wide lotus capital on which would be seated figural sculptures in gilt metal of the king and queen or the royal family, or the king alone (pl. LXXIV), or the *Garuda* (frontispiece) are all distinctive features of Nepalese architecture with only marginal though obviously interconnected resemblances to comparable Indian phenomena.¹ Nevertheless, it is primarily the architecture of temples proper in which some claim of affinity can be easily established.

(ii) Early Shrines

Epigraphical evidence in India points to the coming into being or existence of shrines for worship as early as the second century B.C. The Besnagar *Garuda* pillar inscription of time of king Bhagabhadra, datable to the end of the 2nd century B.C., records the erection by Heliodoros, Greek Ambassador of king Antialkidas of Taxila of a *Garuda* pillar in front of a pre-existing temple of Vāsudeva (Krishna=Vishnu)² The *Garuda* pillar undoubtedly anticipates the *Garuda* pillars of the Nepalese temples, the earliest of which, in stone, occurs at Changu Narayana (pl. LXXV) and is not contemporaneous with Manadeva (5th century) but with one of a slightly later date occurring at the premises of the Satyanarayana temple at Hadigaon (pl. LXXVI) of the time of Amsuvarman. The early tradition thus in Nepal and India is of stone figures mounted on stone pillars. The mounting of a hollow cast gilt metal figure of *Garuda* in front of the Krishna temple at Patan (frontispiece), dated to A.D. 1637, is indeed a linear successor of the hoary *Garuda* of Besnagar (Vidisha). Unfortunately, however, this figure at Besnagar is not now traceable. It would be necessary to recall that the tradition of pillars with capitals bearing a wide miscellany of animal forms, can be traced to the still earlier days of Asoka, who also mentions pre-existing pillars reminding us of a still earlier tradition. The case for an independent development of the pillars in Nepal, therefore, falls through. Sarkar has drawn our attention to the practice of raising *dhvaja-stambhas* set in vogue by the Ikshvaku king Ehavula Chāmtamula in the 3rd century A.D. at Nagarjunakonda³. There is evidence, however, of raising an

¹In this connexion mention may be made with reference to the high proliferation of walls constructed of stone and wood together with gateways and towers around the city of Bhaktapur by Jaya Yakshamalla about the year 573 (=A.D. 1452). It was surmounted by a moat. All this work was done at great expense with the conjoint efforts of labourers drawn from all ranks of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras. This is mentioned in a copper plate inscription attached to the front wall of the royal palace in Bhatgaon just to the right of the golden gate. The relevant parts of the inscription read as follows :

Śrī Yakshamalla prabhunā suvistaram Bhaktāpurīprāvaranam chakāra tat II. Brahma-Kshatriya Vaiśya-Sūdrakajanaiṣṭam navamīnīrmitam pāshānam bahukāshṭhabhārarachitam chādāya sarvairjjanaiḥ I. Dvāre koṭasamanvitam diśi diśi prākāram tuṅgottamam kurvanti sakhātakīmatimahākashṭhaishcha vīttairvyayaiḥ II Durgaprākārabhāge hyapakarati kadā samsthitam digvidikshu pāshānam kashṭhaloshṭham tadiha vinīhitam kaschidaṭṭam.... See Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, III, pp. 73-4.

²D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, second edition, pp. 88-90.

³H. Sarkar, *An Architectural Survey of Temples of Kerala*, New Delhi, 1978, p. 230, and also *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXIV, pp. 17-20.

Indradhvaja in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Kishkindhyākanda*) anticipating the still current custom on the occasion of the annual *Indrajātrā* festival in Nepal.

In the context of structural architecture, it may be pointed out that one of early instances is a three-storied shrine in a terracotta plaque¹ of the Suṅga period reported from Kausambi, Distt. Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh. It is apparently apsidal on plan, with horse-shoe shaped openings in front, and has a barrel-vaulted roof.

Yet another example in *bas relief* on a lime stone slab occurs at Ghantasala (pl. LXXVII)² Andhra Pradesh and is dated to the 2nd or 1st century B.C. It is now preserved in the Musée Guimet, Paris. It rises in three storeys on an octagonal plan at the base, which is broken and missing, though its upper domical part is hexagonal. It has been held to inspire both the pyramidal *vimāna* superstructure of south India and the *śikhara* superstructure of north India. It can be remembered as a distant predecessor, if not a promoter, of the octagonal Chyasing *devalas* at Kathmandu and Patan in Nepal.

The archaeological excavations conducted afresh at the site of the *Garuḍa* pillar at Besnagar by M.D. Khare in 1965 points to an earlier date for the temple which was in the shape of an ellipse on ground-plan. The pillar set up by Heliodoros was only one of the eight pillars that appear to have been raised at the spot. The excavations have revealed the bases of seven other pillars.

The Ghosundi stone inscription³ of the king Sarvatata found near Nagari, Distt. Chittorgadh, Rajasthan refers to a Vishnu temple called *Nārāyaṇa Vāṭaka* within a square enclosure of stone (*śilā-prākāra*). This is dated to the second half of the 1st century B.C.

The Kosam (Kausambi) stone inscription⁴ of the end of the 1st century B.C. refers to the erection of a platform or railing (*vedikā*) for the temple of Yaksha Maṇibhadra. Even here the form of the temple including the superstructure is not known.

The Burhikar inscription⁵ engraved on the flat side of the shaft of the mace of a four-handed figure holding a mace (*gadā*) and a discus (*chakra*) in the upper hands, with the lower hands in *añjali* (folded hands) and found at Malhar, Distt. Bilaspur, Madhya Pradesh, is datable to the close of the 1st century B.C. This together with the image would point to the existence of a Vishnu temple in the neighbourhood at this time. However, there being no structural vestige on the spot, the shape of the shrine is not inferable.

¹U.P. Shah, 'Beginnings of the superstructure of Indian Temples', *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture* (ed. Pramod Chandra), p. 87. pl. 11.

²D. Barrett, 'Two Unpublished Sculptures from the Andhradesa', *Arts Asiatiques*, tome III, 4, 1956 pp. 287-92; Fig. 1. U.P. Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 87, pl. 12.

³Sircar, *op. cit.*, second ed., p. 90.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 529-30.

The reference to a Buddhist shrine or structure believed to have been originally built by Asoka contained in an inscription of the 2nd century A.D. at Salihundam,¹ Distt. Srikakulam, Andhra Pradesh, points to the existence of religious shrines in Asoka's time.

Asoka, however, had three caves cut into the rock for the dwelling of the monks of the *Ājīvika* sect of Jainism in the Barabar hills, Distt. Gaya, Bihar, called, respectively, as Nyagrodha-guphā (*Nigoha-kubhā* in Prakrit) and two caves each in the Khalatika parvata including the *Supriyaguhā* in the 12th year of his anointment, the last being executed in the 19th year.²

Asoka's grandson, Dasaratha³ caused three caves called *Vahiyaka*, *Gopika* and *Vaḍathika*, respectively, to be excavated in the Nagarjuni hills, Distt. Gaya, Bihar, about 220 B.C., also for the *Ājīvikas*.⁴

The Barabar hill caves are very interesting as the earliest examples of rock-cut cave architecture in India. The Sudama cave (Nyagrodha of Asoka) is longitudinal on plan and is cut parallel to the escarpment facade of the rock with a narrow opening at one end of the longitudinal side of the excavated hall. The roof of the hall is barrel-vaulted, and it is connected by means of a narrow opening to a circular shrine with a domical vault. This phenomenon recalls the circular plan at the base of an Asokan period structural temple at Bairat.

But the undated Lomasa Rishi cave has an oval (on plan) shrine or chapel, recalling the elliptical shrine at Besnagar referred to above.

The next stage of apsidal halls cut into the rock not parallel to the face of the rock but axially at right angles to the facade occurs in western India as at Bhaja and this movement advanced through several centuries till the chambers become rectangular. But the main point of interest from our point of view is the point of time when the Buddhist *stūpa* or *chaitya* was incorporated in the cave shrine and also when the *sanctum sanctorum* of the Brahmanical and Jaina faiths became integrally part and parcel of caves.

(iii) *The Cult of the Stūpa*

In this context it would be desirable to trace first the evolution of the *stūpa* in India including its incorporation into the rock-cut hall as a chapel or shrine and of the structural temple.

¹Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 528; *Epigraphia Indica.*, XXXI, pp. 85-86.

²*Ibid.*, p. 76.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

⁴It is interesting to note that even though the donations were specifically described in the inscriptions of Dasaratha as eternal (*i.e.*, as long as the sun and moon last), two of the Nagarjuni hill caves were dedicated to Siva and Parvati, respectively, and one of the Barabar hill caves was dedicated to Krishna during the reign of the Maukhari king Anantavarman. The name of the *Ājīvikas* (*i.e.*, *Ājīvikehi*) was also chiselled out in some cases; *ibid.*, p. 78, footnote 1.

The role of the *stūpa* as a monument enshrining the corporeal relics of the Buddha or Buddhist monks of high rank has long been taken for granted. One of the earliest extant *stūpas* that easily comes to mind in this context is the *stūpa* or Sanchi, near Vidisha, in Madhya Pradesh, going back to the days of Asoka. That such a monument was not treated with abhorrence, being of sepulchral association, is due perhaps to the words uttered by the Buddha himself immediately before his demise in reply to the importunate requests of his dearest disciple, Ananda, at Kusinagara. When pressed for advice as to how the followers of Buddha should revere him after he was no longer in their midst, the reply given was that his relics should be interred in a *stūpa* erected at the crossroads, as was the custom with the remains of *rājachakravartis* (emperors).

This is recorded in *Mahāparinibbāna Sūta*, a Buddhist text of the 5th century A.D., containing the account of the passing away of the Lord and it seems to reflect the tradition that was undoubtedly in vogue nearly 900 years earlier. The recent discovery of the relics of the Buddha in a *stūpa* at Piprahwa, in Basti district of Uttar Pradesh, in circumstantial association with more than 40 sealings of terracotta bearing the name of a monastery of the Kushana period, datable to the 1st-2nd century A.D. called the *Devaputra-vihāra* and the name of the *saṅgha* (order) of monks (*bhikshus*) of Kapilavastu has lent positive support to the identification of the earlier *stūpa*, which was opened up by the Mauryan emperor Asoka in the middle of the 3rd century B.C., with the original *stūpa* built over the relics of the Buddha. This is indicated by the *Prakrit* inscription on the lid of a steatite vase containing bone relics, pointing to the original interment of the corporeal relics of the Buddha at the spot by his *Śākya* brethren, apparently not far from their capital, Kapilavastu.

That the erection of a *stūpa* over the corporeal relics of the Buddhist monks was an old tradition is further indicated by the Asokan inscription on the pillar found at Nigalihawa (Nepal), not far from Piprahwa in India. This inscription refers to the repairs and expansion in size of the *stūpa* of a previous Buddha called Konakamana in the 14th year of Asoka's coronation, *i.e.*, in the year 254 B.C. and his personal visit and offer of reverence to it in the 21st year of his coronation, *i.e.*, in 249 B.C.

The fact that there were six previous Buddhas according to one tradition takes the beginning of tradition of the corporeal *stūpa* by at least 300 years, *i.e.*, to the 8th century B.C., with an average life span of 50 years for every previous Buddha, notwithstanding the fact that Gautama Buddha himself lived for more than 80 years. If the other tradition of 23 previous Buddhas is to be given credence and chronological value, the antiquity of the tradition would recede further backwards in point of time.

This phenomenon finds support also in the *Rig Veda* where the phenomenon of the *stūpa* is mentioned at several places, as a Pile of Splendour and a representative or embodiment of a great personality of *Mahāpurusha*, and, therefore, an object of reverence.

The *stūpa* was associated from very early times with a pillar or *stūpa* on the sacrificial pillar, and this combination adds to the importance of the *stūpa-yūpa* complex. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, a work of the 8th century B.C., refers to the four parts of the *yūpa*, as representing different spheres of (a) the fathers, (b) of the men, (c) of the gods, and (d) the archetypal gods, respectively, in the ascending order.

It is, however, the *Mahāvamśa*, the Sri Lanka chronicle of the Buddha, of the 5th century A.D., which gives a detailed account of the processes and stages of the construction of a *stūpa*. The first step was the preparation of a firm base or foundation with broken bits of stone laid on a strong bed of lime mortar. The evidence of this is presented by the *stūpa* at Sanchi, one of the earliest extant Buddhist *stūpas*. It indicates the desired form of a hemispherical dome built over the foundation called the *medhi*. The hemispherical dome is called the *anda*, and it was surmounted by a rectangular or square platform, sometimes shaped like an inverted tower, called the *harmikā* or the abode of the gods. It is usually surrounded by a railing called *vedikā*. A staff or *yashti* sprang up through the centre of the *harmikā* and pierced a series of circular discs of stone serving as a series of umbrellas (*chhatrāvali*), which are usually three or thirteen but can also be twenty-five in number. The entire complex is then surrounded at the ground level by a railing or *vedikā* and it is pierced at the cardinal points by an entrance gateway often marked by a series of three cross-bars resting on two pillars called the *torana*, or the entrance arch.

At Sanchi we have one of the best examples of the early *stūpa*. It was probably enlarged and completed in the 1st century B.C. Another *stūpa* was at Bharhut in M.P. Though this 2nd century B.C. *stūpa* no longer exists, there is valuable sculptural evidence about its importance.

The *Mahāparinibbāna Sūtta*, prescribed the manner of reverence that may be offered to the *stūpa*. It could be done by the offer of parasols—as a mark of recognition of the implied supervening personality of a *Mahāpurusha* or *Rājachakravartī*, embodied in it—besides flags, incense, garlands and music.

The excavations of the mound of Kankalitila in Mathura has yielded evidence of the prevalence of the cult of the *stūpa* even among the Jains, which may itself be an indication of the continuation of an earlier tradition, for the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* clearly refers to the practice of burials existing in the past, and taking the form of a 'square' in the case of the northerners and 'round' in the case of the easterners.

The round form is reflected in numerous megalithic burials in India, the oldest date of which has been found to be about 1100 B.C. at Hallur in Dharwar district of Karnataka in south India. The prevalence of the circular form of the *stūpa* may be indicative of either the influence of the megalithic cairn, or the stone circle, or even the circular underground rock-cut vaults found all over the Kerala region. This region also contains megalithic monuments in the form of hemispherical stone blocks

(*topikallu*) with or without an enclosure of a protective circle or railing, as well as hemispheric umbrella stones (*kūḍakallu*), with chamfered sides resting on the flattened tops of four slabs placed below to form a square enclosure, to serve as a support for the supervening stone slab shaped like an umbrella. All these, however, are associated with funerary remains, and, therefore, partake of the sepulchral aspect of the *stūpa*.

The literary evidence of the later times divides the *stūpas* into three categories, namely: (1) *Śārīrika* meaning those that actually contain corporeal relics, (2) *Uddeśika*, or dedicatory and commemorative without sepulchral association, and (3) *Pāribhogika*, or those that contained the objects that were used by the departed persons of reverence in their life time. There is a fourth category called the *Mānushī* (see p. 166 ante).

The evidence of the vertical perforation going through the core of the brick-built *stūpa* at Piprahawa is perhaps the earliest evidence of the *yūpa* (sacrificial post) in combination with the *stūpa*, meant to serve as a support for the complex of umbrellas, suggestive of the link of the cult with a cosmic ideology. It has yet to be established that every *stūpa* did, in fact, possess this phenomenon.

It is significant, however, that *stūpas* are not generally associated with the Brahmanical faith. The *stūpa* at Lauriya Nandangarh in Champaran district of Bihar, has been tentatively, but by no means with the help of incontrovertible evidence, dated to the beginnings of the first millennium B.C. and has yielded, among other things, a golden plaque of a nude mother goddess in *repoussé*, symbolising a goddess of fertility reminiscent of ringstones with nude figurines carved on their inner faces, found in Mauryan levels at several sites in north India. This tradition is visually reflected by the carved figure of a goddess in the nude, and labelled as *Kāmadā* among the mediaeval sculptures of the sixty-four *yoginīs* at Bheraghat near Jabalpur.

All these are indicative of the cult of a fertility goddess, existing from the days before the emergence of the Harappan civilisation (circa 2350-1700 B.C.) in the sub-continent in the form of a mother goddess in terracotta. The idea seems to have received refinement at the hands of the Buddhist sculptors in the form of a goddess, seated on a lotus, and bathed by two elephants, found carved on one of the architraves of the *torāṇa* of the Sanchi *stūpa*, as well as at Pitalkhora in Maharashtra. Though called as *Śrī* this figure anticipated the Lakshmi of the Brahmanical pantheon and Vasudhara of the later Buddhist pantheon.

The *stūpa* complex in course of time got interlinked with a base of multiple plinths or storeys, which are generally described as *Aidūka* or *Edūka*, but have a sepulchral flavour by their association with remains of bones as adduced by the evidence of the *Amarakosha*, a work of the 4th century A.D. Nevertheless, the *Vishnu-dharmottara*, a text on art and architecture of the 5th-6th centuries A.D., prescribes three storeys of plinth for a temple of Siva, disclaiming any sepulchral association. The theme of *Edūka* has already been dealt with in detail in chapter VII above.

The popularity of the *stūpa* cult remained intact and spread to all parts of the world where Buddhism travelled. The *stūpa* has remained an object of reverence for all Buddhists, whether they are members of the Hinayana sect or the Mahayana sect.

It would be worthwhile to mention the names of the principal *stūpas* of later times. The *stūpas* of Devnimori in Gujarat and Dhamekh at Sarnath in Uttar Pradesh leave no room for any doubt regarding the prosperity of the Buddhist faith in India and of the *stūpa* cult, which had begun with *stūpas* built over Buddha's relics in the 5th century B.C., till at least the 6th century A.D.

In Nepal, Buddhism was probably introduced at the time of emperor Asoka to whom is attributed the founding of the city of Lalitapaṭṭana (now Patan), near Kathmandu, and the setting up of a *stūpa* at each of its four corners and one in the centre.

The worship of the *stūpa* is a living tradition in Nepal and is indicated by the popularity of the Swayambhunatha and Bodhnatha *stūpas*, the latter being a stronghold of the Tibetan Lamas and the former greatly under Tibetan influence with a *gompā* (monastery) in the premises. In Nepal, however, a distinction is made between a *stūpa* and a *chaitya*, the latter being only a votive or commemorative *stūpa*. There is no end of *chaityas* of this order in the courtyards of houses, in the *vihāras* or monasteries, and at crossroads and avenues. They are reminiscent of the *chörtens* of the Tibetan Buddhists, lining the passage linking villages and occurring at all vantage points. In Sri Lanka, where the word for *stūpa* is *dāgaba* (derived from *dhātugarbha* or containing the sacred relics), the earliest is the Thuparama. The *Dāgaba*, attributed to King Devanampiya Tissa in the 3rd century B.C., contains a collar bone of the Buddha. The word got transformed into *pagoda* in Burma where also the cult became popular.

This account would not be complete without a reference to the world-famous *stūpa* of Barabudur, built in the latter half of the 8th century A.D. in Java. The structure rises over a terraced plinth comprising six lower ones broadly square on plan, and three circular on top making a total of eight storeys. The first four terraces are so recessed on each side as to produce an outline with five facets on each side, conforming to what is known as *pañcharatha* in temple architecture. The upper two strata of the square terraces have an outline of three facets (*triratha*). Access to the *stūpa* proper is provided by means of four staircases, on each terrace, each series being cardinally oriented (fig. 7). The balustrades flanking the square terraces provide a passage for circumambulation and a scope for the delineation in sculpture of the life of Buddha and the previous lives of the Buddha as depicted in the *Jātakas* in *bas relief*. See also page 125 ante.

We may conclude by reiterating the views of Ananda Coomaraswamy as expressed in his paper on the 'Symbolism of the Dome' according to which 'it is a universe in parvo, the abode of a person who has passed away'. Coomaraswamy, however, derived the shape from the model of a domed Indian hut with a hole in the roof for the gases issuing from the sacrifices performed inside it to escape. He refers to the pheno-

menon of the pillar like *yashti* emanating from the centre of the *stūpa* as the continuation of the staff that pierces the earth at the lower end and projects beyond the dome to support the umbrella on the upper end.

The rock-cut underground circular caves abounding in Kerala, with a megalithic association, were also considered by the French savant Jouveau Dubreuil to be Vedic relics. It is significant, however, that the vaulted roof is often found pierced by a circular hole, which was obviously meant to be kept covered by a stone slab. The occasional occurrence of a monolithic pillar supporting as it were the vaulted roof of the circular cave is suggestive at once of an umbrella that befits and bedecks both royalty and divinity with a connexion between both heaven and earth through the pillar or *yashti* which links the earth with the vault of the heavens.

The *stūpa* is thus often held to be a symbol of the macrocosm of the Universe and a manifestation of the cosmic ideology and even in this role it would compel the attention and reverence of the faithful in all parts of the Buddhist world as well as others.

Panels of sculptures from Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda in District Guntur of Andhra Pradesh, or Sarnath near Varanasi in Uttar Pradesh often portray the five principal scenes from the life of the Buddha together : (1) His Nativity, (2) His Great Renunciation, (3) His penance and attainment of Enlightenment, (4) His preaching of the new faith, called setting in motion the Wheel of Law (*Dharma-chakra pravartana* in Sanskrit), and (5) His Great Demise (*Mahaparinirvāṇa* or Great Emancipation). The last scene is often symbolically shown in the form of a *stūpa*. The occurrence of all these scenes together indicate the importance of each phase of the life of the Buddha and the eternal immanence of the Divine even in the visual symbol of the Great Departure from the earthly tabernacle.

The *stūpa* is a symbol of Buddhism. Its popularity is due in a large measure to the active support given to it, by rare foresight, by emperor Asoka, who had sent missionaries to different parts of the world such as Sri Lanka, Egypt, Greece and Syria to spread the new message of Buddhist Dharma. That the sphere of his influence had encompassed Nepal is indicated not merely by the inscriptional records in Lumbini and Nigalihawa in the terai region but also the remains of the *stūpas* and township of Patan in the Kathmandu valley attributed to his daughter and to himself. The discovery of a bilingual edict of Asoka near Kabul some years ago also points to the undaunted spread of the benign influence of the benevolent emperor towards this region.

As regards the *stūpa* itself, Asoka is credited by tradition to have opened up seven of the eight *stūpas* originally built by the tribes or people who had been closely associated with the Buddha during his lifetime, namely, (a) The Sakyas of Kapilavastu, (b) Lichchhavis of Vaisali, (c) Mallas of Pawa, (d) Mallas of Kusinagara, (e) Moriyas of Pippalivana, (f) Bulis of Alakappa and (g) Koliyas of Ramagrama, besides (h) King Ajatasatru of Magadha. It is said that to popularise the cult, Asoka opened seven of

these pristine *stūpas*, except the one at Ramagrama, and after taking away fragments of the relics from each, built 84,000 *stūpas* all over the country. The truth of this tradition has been partly proved by the archaeological evidence of the excavations conducted in the Lichchhavi *stūpa* at Vaisali, in Bihar, and the Sakya *stūpa* at Piprahawa, in Basti, Uttar Pradesh. That the *stūpa* continues to be a visible symbol of the spirit of Buddhism and a rallying point for Buddhists from all over the world, regardless of race, language, or nationality, is a tribute to Asoka, the glorious and visionary *Rājachakravarti par excellence* of Indian history.

(tv) *The Evolutions of Temples*

That rock-cut cave architecture remained popular for long and was adopted by the faiths other than Buddhism is indicated by the evidence of caves in various parts of India upto the 7th or 8th century A.D. The Pabhosa cave inscription occurring on the wall of a cave near Kausambi,¹ Distt. Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh, datable to the end of the 1st century B.C., palaeographically, points to the popularity of this form of architecture in the Ganga plains during the Sunga period.

The Mathura Lion-capital inscription² of the times of Rañjuvula (*circa* A.D. 1-15) and Śoḍāsa (*circa* A.D. 10-15) bears evidence of the erection of a structural *stūpa* and a *saṅghārāma* (monastery) as well as a cave monastery.

The Taxila copper plate of Patika (year 78=A.D. 21)³ refers to the interment of Buddha's relics (in a *stūpa*) and a monastery. These are apparently structural and the name of the person in charge of the constructions is also mentioned as Rohinimitra.

The Kalawan copper plate inscription⁴ of the year 134 (=A.D. 77) (near Taxila, Distt. Rawalpindi, Pakistan) refers to the installation of Buddha's relics in a *griha-stūpa* (a *stūpa* inside a structure used as a shrine or a house) at Chhatraśilaka (Taksha-silaka?).

The Taxila silver scroll inscription⁵ of a Kushana king of the year 136 (=A.D. 79) refers to the installation of Buddha's relics in a *Bodhisattva-griha* (probably a structural temple).

The British Museum stone inscription⁶ of Kanishka I of the year 10 (=A.D. 88) refers to the gift of a palace (*harmya*) or temple for the village goddess at *Navamikā*. It was undoubtedly a shrine of unknown form.

¹D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 95-6.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 114-5.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 124-5.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 131-2.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 133-4.

⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 138-9.

The Mānikīāla stone inscription of Kanishka I¹ of the year 18 (=A.D. 96) refers to the raising of a *stūpa* with Buddha's relics.

The Kurram copper plate inscription² of the year 21 (=A.D. 99) refers to the installation of Buddha's relics in a *stūpa* in a monastery called *Nava-vihāra*.

The Mathura Buddha image inscription of the time of Vāsudeva³ of the year 64 or 67 (=A.D. 142 or 145) refers to the installation of an image of Buddha in a shrine in the following words : (*Śākya*) *muneh pratimā sagrihā pratisthāpitā* (Sanskritized text).

It is, however, difficult to reconstruct, or form an idea, of the actual shape of the structural shrines mentioned in the inscriptions on the basis of the epigraphical evidence alone, which no more than provides a general name of the structure or monument raised.

We are, however, aware of the existence of a large number of rock-cut caves at Udayagiri and Khandagiri, near Bhubaneswar, Orissa, which range in point of time from the 2nd century to 1st century B.C.

The Hathigumpha inscription⁴ of Kharavela of the 1st century B.C. mentions that repairs were carried out to the enclosure walls (*prākāras*) and gateways (*gopuras*) which had been damaged by cyclonic winds in the very first year of his anointment. It also adverts to the erection of a great palace (*mahāvijaya prāsāda*) and the excavation of caves for the dwelling of the monks in the *Kumārī parvata* (i.e., Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills). He is also described as having set up *śikharas* (*śikhara* style temples ?) and *gopuras* (imposing gateways to the temple enclosures) implying substantial structures to be enclosed as well as a repairer of all temples (*sarvadevāyatana-saṃskārakāraka*).

It is interesting to record that though the *śikharas*, *gopuras* or other *devāyatanas* or even the *mahāvijaya-prāsāda* constructed by Kharavela have not survived, the caves at Khandagiri and Udayagiri bear the distinctive stamp of Kharavela's magnificent conception. In point of form these are all quadrilateral on plan and flat-roofed and they may be the prototypes of the early structural forms, though no positive idea is conveyed by them of the shape and form of the roofs.

The Bhattiprolu stone casket inscription (Distt. Krishna, Andhra Pradesh) of the time of Kuberaka, datable to the end of the 2nd century B.C. indicates the construction of a *stūpa* dedicated to Buddha's relics.⁵

There are references to the excavation of caves (*apavāraka*) at Mahadharmagiri, the erection of *chaitya-grihas* at Kshudradharmagiri and at Kula *vihāra*, besides a *Bodhi-*

¹*Ibid.*, pp. 142-43.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 148-89.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 161-62.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 213 ff.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 224-28.

vrikshaprāsāda at the *Simhala vihāra* in the Nagarjunakonda inscription of Virapurushadatta in the 14th regnal year (second half of the 3rd century A.D.)¹

The Nagarjunakonda stone inscription of Virapurushadatta of the 18th regnal year refers to the erection of a stone-built pavilion (*śaila-maṇḍapa*) in a quadrangle surrounded by four structures (*chaṭūhśālā*).²

Much earlier, however, at Mathura we have the epigraphical evidence of the erection of a temple (*devagriha*) built of stone enshrining sculptured images of the *Pañchavīras* (i.e., Saṁkarshaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Sāmba and Aniruddha as described in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, LXXIX, 1-2) in the Mathura stone inscription of Śoḍāsa's time (A.D. 10-25).³

Yet another Mathura stone inscription⁴ of Śoḍāsa's time refers to the installation of a temple of Vāsudeva at a central place of some importance (*mahāsthānaka*) along with a *toraṇa* (gateway or tympanum) and an altar or railing (*vedikā*) in the beginning of the 1st century A.D.

There is an interesting reference to the erection of a Siva temple (*Śivasthala*) by a Moyika, son of Urumuja, during the reign of a Kushana king in the second half of the 1st century A.D. in the Panjtar stone inscription⁵ of the year 122 (=A.D. 65). Sircar identified the king with one of the semi-independent governors of Wema Kadphises somewhere in the region of the findspot of the inscription, namely, between the Swat and Indus valleys on the borders of Hazara and Peshawar districts of Pakistan.

The recent excavations at Sonkh⁶ near Mathura by Professor H. Haertel of the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin, have led to the discovery of the lower parts of apsidal structural temples of the early Kushana period, but the form of the superstructure cannot be reconstructed with the help merely of the extant remains.

Though some of the early rock-cut caves of western India are barrel-vaulted, the later caves at Ajanta, Ellora, Aurangabad, Elephanta in western India, Udayagiri and Bagh in central India, and the Pallava, Chola and Pandyan caves in south India are flat-roofed. In this context it is interesting to record the description given by the Pallava king Mahendravarman I (*Vichitrachitta*) (circa A.D. 580-630) in his Māṇḍapattu inscription⁷ in regard to the rock-cut architecture developed by him at Māṇḍapattu, Distt. S. Arcot, Tamil Nadu. The inscription reads as follows :

¹*Ibid.*, pp. 233-36.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 236-37.

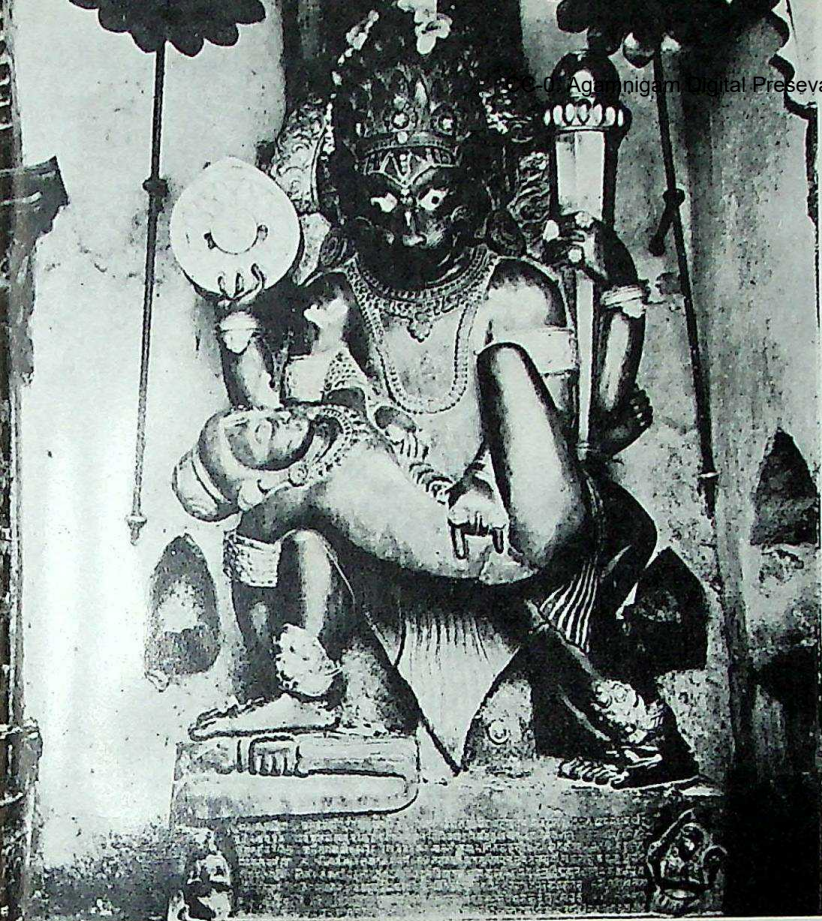
³*Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 122. The relevant part of the inscription reads : *Vrishṇīṇām pañchavīrānām pratimāḥ śaila-devagri (he sthāpitāḥ)*.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 130.

⁶H. Haertel, 'Some Results of the Excavations at Sonkh', *German Scholars on India*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1976. pp. 76-77, 93 and 94; figs. 9, 39 and 40.

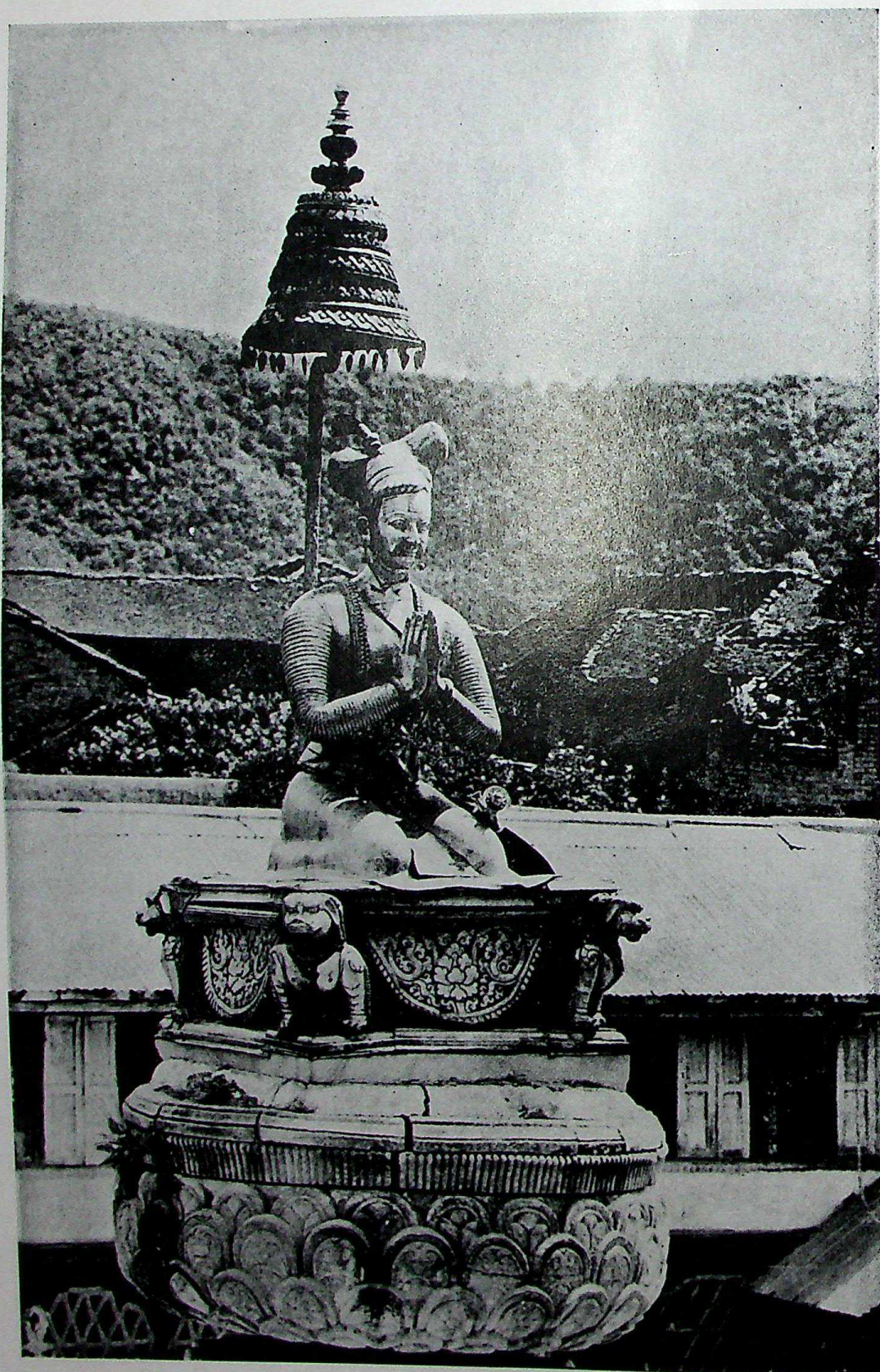
⁷T.A. Gopinath Rao, *Epigraphia Indica*, XVII, pp. 14-17; *South Indian Inscriptions*, XII, no. 12 and *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, no. 56 of 1905. See also K.R. Srinivasan, *Cave Temples of the Pallavas*, New Delhi, 1964, p. 47.



Pl. LXXIII. Kathmandu : Stone figure of Narasimha at entrance to Hanuman Dhoka palace (17th century).



Pl. LXXII. Bronze figure of Vasudhārā (16th century).



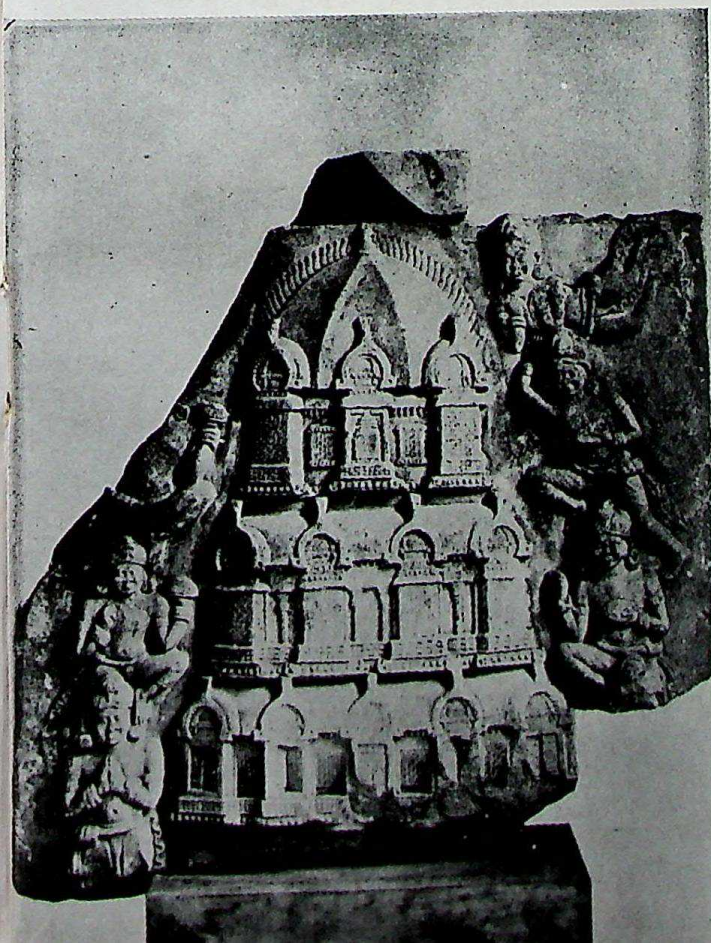
Pl. LXXIV. Bhaktapur : Gilt bronze figure of King Bhupatindramalla (17th century).



Pl. LXXVI. Kathmandu : Stone figure of Garuda over pillar at Satyanarayana temple (Hadigaon) (7th century).



Pl. LXXV. Changu Narayana : Stone figure of Garuda over pillar (7th century).



Pl. LXXVII. Ghantasala (Andhra Pradesh) : Multiple-storied shrine in bas relief (now in Musée Guimet, Paris) (2nd century B.C.).



Pl. LXXVIII. Sohgauna (Uttar Pradesh) : Bronze plate inscription with figures of multiple-roofed temples.

Pl. LXXIX. Amaravati (Andhra Pradesh) : Panel showing multiple-storied *Bodhi-vriksha* (now in Government Museum, Madras) (2nd century B.C.).



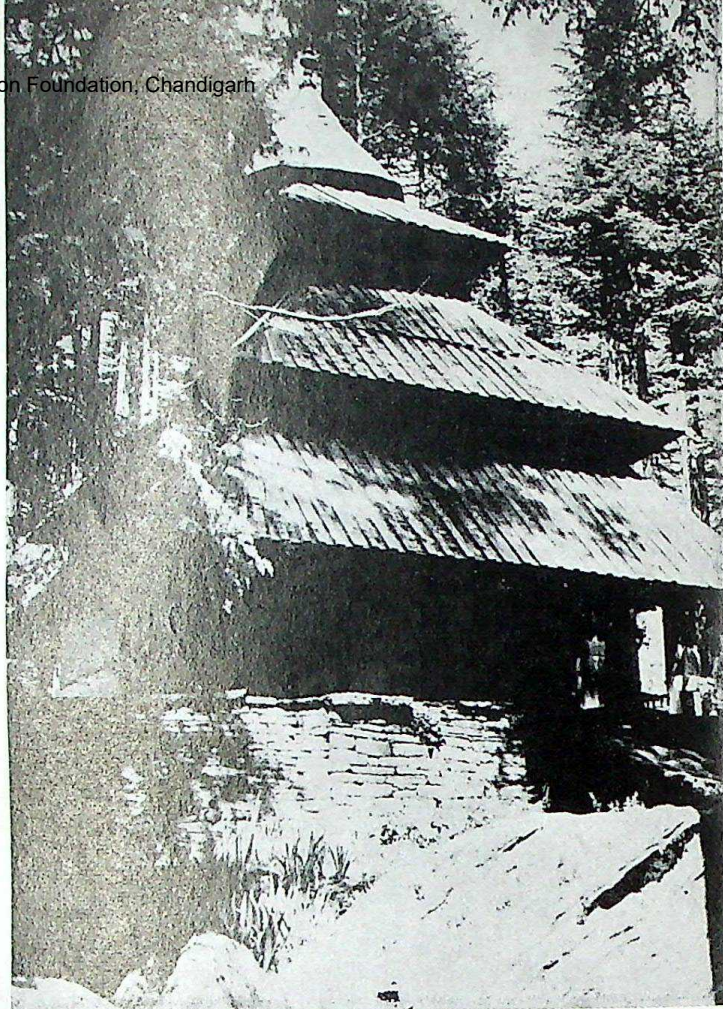
Pl. LXXX. Bharhut (Madhya Pradesh) : Multiple-storied structure in *bas relief* (2nd century B.C.).



Pl. LXXXI. Patan : Gilt bronze figure of Ganga flanking entrance to Bhavani temple at Mullchok (16th century).



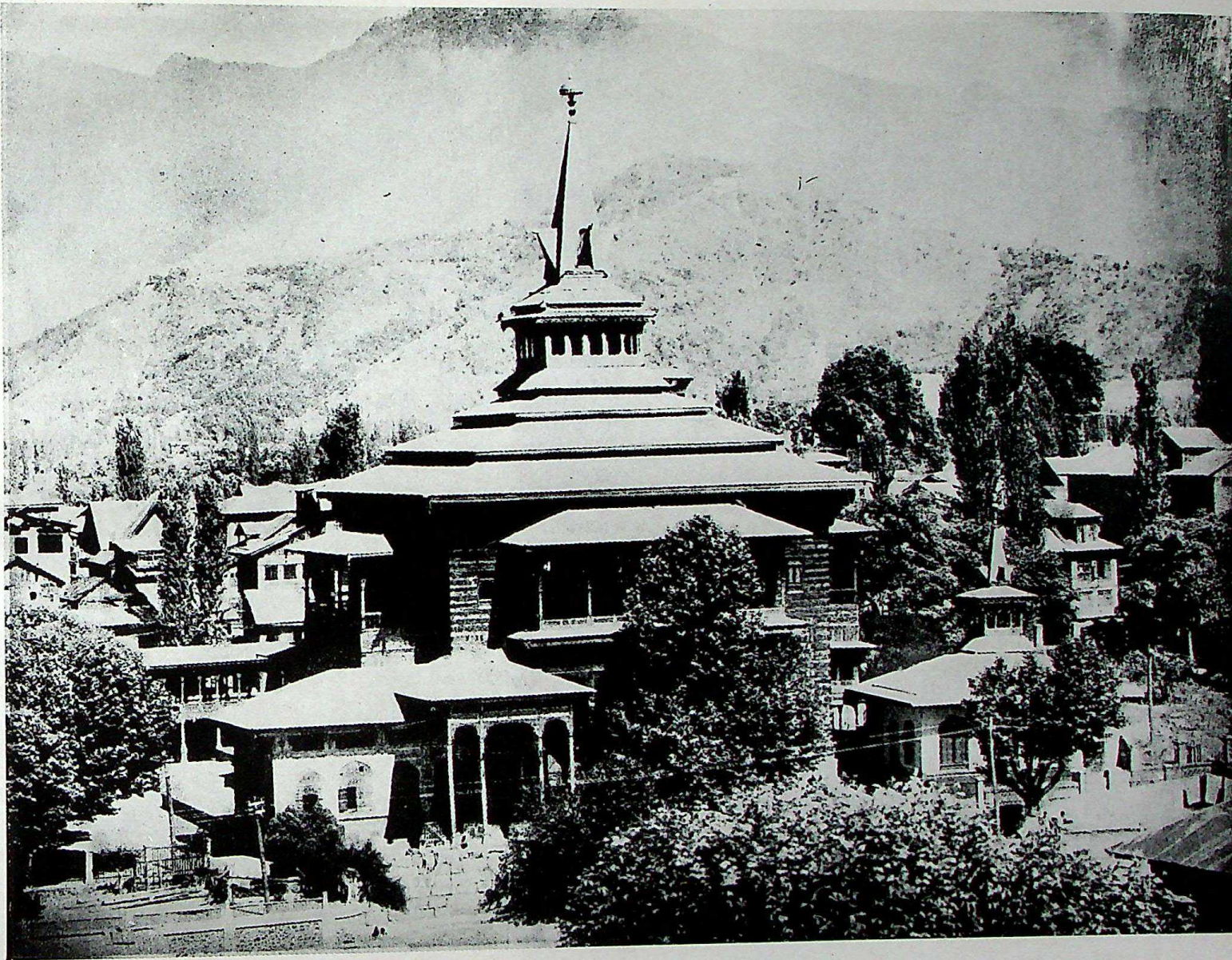
Pl. LXXXII. Patan : Gilt bronze figure of Yamuna flanking entrance to Bhavani temple at Mulchok, (16th century).



Pl. LXXXIII. Hidimba Devi Temple at Dhungri near Manali, District Kulu, Himachal Pradesh (16th century).



Pl. LXXXIV. Devi temple at Kao, near Karsog, District Mandi, Kulu, Himachal Pradesh (18th century).



Pl. LXXXV. Srinagar (Kashmir) : Khanqah (mosque of Shah Hamadan) (14th century).



Pl. LXXXVI. *Pida* type temples comparable to forms in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Orissa (12th-13th centuries).

Pl. LXXXVIII. Kathmandu : Ranamukteswara temple (19th century).



Pl. LXXXVII. Bhaktapur : Bhairava temple on rectangular plan (18th century).

Pl. LXXXIX. Trichur (Kerala) : A figure blowing conch under pranala in Rama temple, similar features occur in Nepal namely at Changu Narayana (Late Phase).



Line 1 : *Etadanishtakamadrutamalo-*

Line 2 : *ham-a-sudham (Vichitrachittena*

Line 3 : *nirmmāpitan-nripe(ṇa) Brahme-*

Line 4 : *śvara-Vishṇu-lakshitāyatanam.*

It means that this temple dedicated to Brahma, Vishnu and Siva was caused to be made by *Vichitrachitta* (an honorific for Mahendravarman, meaning 'of curious mind') without the use of bricks, wood, mortar or iron. This only points to a late evolution of the structural temple in the south, if one were to leave out the temples in the Aihole area.

The Udayagiri cave inscription¹ of Chandragupta II of the Gupta year 82 (=A.D. 401) describes the gift of a cave temple of Siva (*Śambhorguhāmakārayat*) by Virasena, Minister of Chandragupta II. Though it does not indicate any structural form, it points only to a flat-roofed shrine as a prototype.

The nine Bagh Caves² of not much later date provide the same picture of the development of temple architecture in the 5th-6th centuries A.D.

D.C. Sircar has drawn our attention to a late inscription engraved on the rock at Umachal³ on the Kamakhya hill near Gauhati, Assam, recording the excavation of a cave temple (*guhā*) to serve as a shrine for *Balabhadrasvāmin* (Balarama), of the time of Mahārājādhirāja Surendravarman whom he has tentatively identified with the Bhauma-Naraka king Mahendravarman (*circa* A.D. 470-95) of Pragjyotisha. Even this late epigraph does not provide any clue to the form of the structural temples in north-eastern India in the 5th century A.D.

The excavations at Bhitari⁴ in Distt. Ghazipur, Uttar Pradesh by K.K. Sinha has only revealed the basal plan (quadrilateral) of the temple of Vishnu erected here by Skandagupta (*circa* A.D. 455-67). Even so the form of the superstructure has not been brought to light as it had already fallen away owing to the ravages of time.

R.N. Salletore has indicated that in all probability, the earliest reference to a *śikhara* shrine occurs in the Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvarman and Kumaragupta which mentions to the construction of a sun temple in A.D. 437-80 and its repairs in A.D. 473-4 in the following words : *Ati unnatamavadātām nabhaḥ śprisanniva manohairaiḥ śikharaiḥ* meaning the temple with its elegant *śikharas* appeared resplendant like a mountain and soared up to touch the sky as it were.⁵ Incidentally it may be mentioned

¹Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-80.

²D. Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, p. 99.

³Sircar., *op. cit.*, p. 530.

⁴*Indian-Archaeology* 1968-69—*A Review*, pp. 38-9; 1969-70, p. 41.

⁵R.N. Salletore, *Life in the Gupta Age*, Bombay, p. 431. Also see Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 306. The inscription also refers to the construction of a temple of sun with a large base and a very tall *śikhara*.

that the above-mentioned inscription describes the extent of the empire of Kumara-gupta spreading upto the four oceans. The reference to mountains Sumeru and Kailasa as the twin breasts of the earth in this context anticipates and bears resemblance to the imagery of the spires of the Nepalese temples mentioned above.

The Kahaum stone pillar inscription¹ of Skandagupta of the year 141 (=A.D. 460) refers to the installation of five stone images of the Tirthankaras (*Pañchendrān sthāpāyitvā dharanīdharamayān*) no doubt, in a temple in the village of Kakubha (Kahaum, Distt. Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh).

Many other instances of other existing temples and grants for their repairs and maintenance occurring in the Gupta inscriptions can be cited.

The excavation of the Dravidian type rock-cut temple at Ellora² in the middle of the 8th century A.D. by the Rashtrakuta king Krishna II (*circa* middle of the 8th century A.D.) (having a structural prototype of about the same time in the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchipuram, Distt. Chingleput, Tamil Nadu, and the contemporary rock-cut temple at Kalugumalai, Distt. Madura, Tamil Nadu, are the earliest yet glorious essays in rock-cut architecture in the round and are the linear successors of the so-called Five Rathas at Mahabalipuram, built by *Paramēśvaravarman* I (*circa* A.D. 672-700).³ These south Indian temples (*vimānas*) are pyramidal in elevation, and rise upwards in receding tiers on a concentric plan. They are called *vimānas* in local parlance. Though occasionally the Nepalese temple has been called a *vimāna*, the style possibly did not find favour with Nepal, where the *śikhara* or *nāgara* style of multiple roofs held comparatively greater attraction. The *śikhara* style itself was much less popular than the *devāla* style owing to the paucity or lack of suitable stone and unsuitability of brick for sculpting or for decorative purposes (in spite of the exquisite example of the brick-built temple of Mahabauddha (pl. XXXVI) at Patan. The choice of style of preferences was determined no doubt by regional influence and local circumstances.

In Nepal the five stone panels of the *Kumārasambhava* theme (pls. XXXVII & XXXVIII) brought to interpretative light by the author⁴ are the earliest specimens of the veneer slabs of what must obviously have been a flat-roofed, incipient *śikhara* type temple of Siva (or Siva-Parvati) comparable with the Parvati temple at Nachna Kuthra (Madhya Pradesh), in the 6th century A.D., which, of course, was two storied. We have an echo of this in the term applied to the *śikhara* style of temples.

The inscribed Tilganga stone panel of *Vishṇuvikrāntamūrti* of the 5th century A.D. as well as the inscribed Sikubahi panel of Uma-Mahesvara of about the same time point in the same direction and they add to the inscriptional evidence of early

¹Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

²K.R. Srinivasan, *Pallava Architecture*, pp. 25-6.

³*Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴Banerjee, *Ancient Nepal*, No. 2, 1968, pp. 27-34.

temples as well as the evidence of the *Garuḍadhvajās* at Changu Narayana and at Satyanarayana (Hadigaon) along with an early head of Vishnu found in the same area, though the fragments of the superstructures are wanting.

Hemraj Sakya¹ refers to an one-lined Late Lichchhavi inscription engraved on a pillar reading *Śrī Pradyumaprānasya kīrtiḥ*, i.e., "this is the work of *Pradyumaprāṇa*" and expresses the view that "it is the only one among known inscriptions to actually refer to a temple" built by one Pradyumaprāṇa. The fallen pillar on which the inscription is engraved is lying to the north-east of the Bhuvanesvari temple, not far from the Paśupati temple at Deopatan.

It has already been indicated above that the Nepalese *devāla* style of temples may have come into existence as early as the time of Amsuvarman towards the end of the 6th century A.D. That it existed in about A.D. 879, the year of the founding of the Nepal Samvat (*Paśupati bhāttāraka saṁvatsara*), has a strong probability, whereas its existence in A.D. 1371, when the broken image of Paśupati was replaced by a new one, is a certainty has also been indicated.

H. Sarkar² has dealt extensively with the theme of early Buddhist architecture and his views which summarizes the position succinctly in regard to its development are quoted below because of their bearing on the development of temple architecture in general :

"It is evident from the preceding chapters that the early Buddhist architectural tradition made use of four different groundplans, viz., elliptical, circular, apsidal and quadrilateral. Of the four types, elliptical ground-plan appears to be the earliest and was in vogue in India perhaps even before the time of Buddha. It, however, did not continue for long as there is hardly any archaeological evidence to prove its continuity beyond the early Christian era, except sporadically in the Brahmanical tradition.

Equally old were the circular building plans but so far there is no evidence to show that the Buddhists adopted it before Aśoka. Moreover, the peripteral conception imposed on a circular plan, the typical instance of which comes from Bairat, might have drawn its inspiration from Greece or west Asia. It was Aśoka who also introduced the rock-cut architecture in India and possibly the idea of apsidal temple, the latter being connected inseparably with the concept of shrine.

But with the introduction of the concept of shrine several practices like the worship of *chaitya* or tree and the raising of memorial *stūpas*—both the practices being taken over by the Buddhists from popular Indian customs—gradually relegated into background. Likewise, the secular basis of many of the Buddhist structural forms were gradually forgotten.

¹Hemraj Sakya, *Abhilekha Prakāśa*, Lalitpur (Nepal), 1969, pp. 15-16.

²H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture in India*, Delhi, 1966, pp. 48-49.

It has to be borne in mind that the Aśokan tradition did not possibly cast any substantial influence on the rock-cut *chaitya* architecture of the western sea-board. Like Gandhara the western coast served as a veritable gate of foreign contact, and many extraneous trends, including the rock-cut apsidal temples, penetrated through these openings into the Buddhist realm of architecture and ideology.

Of the four types of building designs, the apsidal ones seem to have no moorings in India, and the plan along with the circular Buddhist temples were eventually superseded by quadrilateral chapels, which continue to be the most popular form in Indian religious architecture. Paradoxically, the quadrilateral ground-plan was the most popular in ancient and protohistoric India but during these periods the emphasis was laid more on oblong or rectangular form, the earliest remains of which came from several Harappan sites : on the other hand, square or intended-to-be quite late, and that too, when some outside trend, not differing much from an existing Indian structural tradition, made its presence felt in Gandhara and in the west coast."

It may, therefore, be suggested that the structural temples emerged from the rock-cut caves with quadrilateral plan, such as we have at Udayagiri, and appeared in the form of the Siva temple at Bhumra, the plain one-storied temple at Sanchi, the two-storied flat-roofed Parvati temple at Nachna reaching the culmination at the Vishnu temple (also popularly called the Daśavatāra temple) at Deogarh¹ Distt. Lalitpur, Madhya Pradesh and the brick-built temple at Bhitargaon, Distt. Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh.

The phenomenon of the multiple-plinthed temples at Ahichchhatra has already been mentioned. The trend is corroborated by the evidence of the three-tiered brick structure at Pawaya, Distt. Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh, dated to the 4th-5th centuries A.D.²

The phenomenon of multiple roofs is a direct corollary of the multiple plinths for harmony or balance. But the knowledge of multiple storeys for dwelling purposes can be traced to brick-built Harappan architecture. The knowledge got lost with the discomfiture of the Harappans and remained buried in the quagmire of oblivion till about the 3rd century B.C. The Sohgaura bronze plate inscription not only mentions a three-storied structure but the plate also indicates its form with two engraved line drawings (pl. LXXVIII) of the multiple-storied temple form. The 3rd century *Bodhivriksha* mentioned above is enclosed by a multiple-storied structure, which encloses a rectangular space as is thus the great linear predecessor of the Nepalese choks (*chatushka*). Amaravati sculptures also indicate the existence of a multiple

¹N.R. Banerjee, 'New Light on the Gupta temples at Deogarh, *Journ. As. Society*, Calcutta, Vol. V, No. 1 & 2, 1963, pp. 37-49.

²P.K. Agrawala, *Gupta Temple Architecture*, Varanasi, 1961, pl. XXV VII b, p. 56; See also *Annual Report Archaeological Section, Gwalior State*, 1927, p. 19.

four storied structure as early as the 2nd century B.C. (pl. LXXIX). A sculptured panel from Mathura also shows a three-storied structure of the 1st century A.D. There are instances of multiple-storied structures in the panels at Bharhut (pl. LXXX) of the 2nd century B.C. and at Sanchi of the 1st century B.C. The imagery of the Mandara or Meru *parvata* attributed to the temples, no doubt on account of their soaring heights, in the mediaeval inscriptions of Nepal have already been referred to earlier. The multiple roofs were a means of attaining the height of the mythical mountains, and this could be done by both raising the plinth and the superstructure through a balanced gradation of square storeys one above the other in receding order with sloping roofs to cover them functionally as well as producing an aesthetic effect of superimposed sloping roofs also in the receding order.

The idea of the blending of the supestruncture with the substructure found an attractive expression in Nepal. It is just factual, however, that the Nepalese temple complex lacks the elaboration of the axial plan of the *ardhamandapa* or the *mukhamandapa*; instead it is mostly *sarvatobhadra* in plan in the case of some of the temples such as the Paśupati temples at Deopatan and Bhaktapur, or even the Krishna temple at Patan Durbar Square. It is a form recommended by the *Vishṇu-dharmottara*¹ long before the Tantric ideas travelled to Nepal or struck deep roots in India. To see in the *sarvatobhadra* form the parallelism of a Tantric *maṇḍala*, as some have done, would appear, therefore to be disconnected and forced. This view does not appear to be tenable because the inscriptions have nowhere mentioned the *Tantras* as authority for the erection of the temples. The offering of *pūjā* even to the Buddhist deities, till quite late times and the attribution of the acts of creation, preservation and destruction to Buddha establishes his identity with the Trinity of the Brahmanical pantheon.² Furthermore, the system of directly offering *pūjā* to the deities including flowers, fruits, sweets, milk, incense and water by the worshippers themselves and the almost total exclusion of the intermediary of the priest in Nepal, except in the case of the Paśupati temple, points to the factual position. This does not, however, mean that tantricism is or was unknown in Nepal, or not popular. But the practitioners of Tantra need not use the ground-plan of the shrines for their rituals, or consciously plan it for the purpose when the vast majority of the populace

¹*Vishṇudharmottara* ed. by Priyabala Shah, Vol. II, pp. 212-14.

²See Regmi, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 45-6. The stone slab inscription lying close to the door of a temple in Kvāthadotol in Bhaktapur, of the year 724 (=A.D. 1603) begins as follows: "Svasti / Oṃ namo Buddhāya || Namō Bauddharūpāya srishṭi-saṃhārakāraka / Bhavatāpavināśāya Śaṅkarātma namo' stute.

That the Bhikshus could marry and set up families is indicated by the Kathmaudu Visvakarma Vihāra copper plate inscription of the year 631 (=A.D. 1510) (Regmi, *op. cit.*, III, p. 98). It mentions the names of the wives of Sakya *bhikshus* who were associated with the ceremony of placing a golden *kalasa* and erection of the flagstaff at the shrine.

remain uninitiated into or unaffected by the dictates of Tantra. As to the multiplicity of the roofs of the *devala* style of temples in Nepal, the *raison d'être* has already been elaborated. It is entirely practical and utilitarian and is paralleled by similar responses of human ingenuity to counteract the hazards of climate (heavy rains or snow) as noticed in Kashmir, Kullu, Chamba, the hill districts of Uttar Pradesh, coastal Gujarat, Karnataka and Kerala. That the idea may have been conveyed by the umbrella stones of *stūpas* or *chaityas* is probable. Nepal was undoubtedly a meeting ground of the two complementary aspects of the structures. The absence of the *maṇḍapas* is explained by the individualistic performance of worship as contrasted to congregational, and the provision of an enclosure (*prākāra*) with shelters alongside, wherever possible. It may be recalled that the *dhūnge-dhārās* served at once as sources of water and shrines together. The houses of the Newars are formed around a rectangular or square courtyard, with common walls, and the houses opening towards the courtyard usually paved with *telia* bricks with a *chaitya* shrine or in the centre, according to the faith of the dwellers. This phenomenon too eliminates the need for covered space over the shrine if it is a *stūpa* or *chaitya*.

The obvious interconnexion with prototypes in India and the differentiae contributed by the local genius have been described already and need not detain us any longer.

The main features of the architectural style which are prominently visible in the temples have premeated to residential architecture also. Yuan Chwang refers to the multi-storied towers in the courts¹ as well as to the existence of the Mahabodhi temple at Bodh Gaya,² with six courts and terraces and halls of three storeys "built by a former king of Ceylon". This temple has been much modified by later repairs, and it is not possible to imagine its original plan or profile except on the basis of the Daśavatāra temple at Deogarh³ or the brick temple at Bhitargaon.

The evidence cited above establishes that by the 7th century the *śikhara* style of architecture with lofty spires had come into being.

Before the rise of the Muslim power in India temples were built in large numbers during the period of the Gurjara-Pratiharas and Gahadvalas and Chandellas Yuan Chwang refers to the existence of 15 non-Buddhist temples, called 'Deva temples', in Kulu, 100 in Thanesvar, 100 in Srughna, more than 10 in Brahmapura, more than 30 in Govishana, 9 at Ahichchhatra, 5 at Atranjikhhera, 10 at Saṅkāśya, 10 at Ayodhya, more than 10 at Daundiakhhera, hundreds at Prayaga, more

¹D. Devahuti, *Harsha*, Oxford, 1970, p. 148. Devahuti has cited the evidence of the Nalanda inscription (*Epigraphia India*, XX, p. 45) which describes the Nalanda *vihāras* with lofty spires that lick the clouds.

²T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, p. 136; S.K. Saraswati in *The Classical Age*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, p. 513, footnote No. 6.

³Banerjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-49.

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than 50 at Kausambi, and at *Pi-sho-ka* (unidentified), 100 at Sravasti, more than 100 at Varanasi, 20 in the Chan-Chu country, tens of temples in the Vriji country, tens of temples in Magadha, more than 20 in Munger, 10 in Rajmahal, 100 in Pundravardhana, 100 at Samatata, more than 50 at Tāmralipti (Tamluk), 50 temples at Karnasuvarna, 50 in Odra or Orissa and more than 100 in Kongoda (Ganjam).¹

It is an unfortunate fact that almost all these noble monuments of the liberality and religious zeal of the princes and peasants alike have disappeared owing to the ravages of time, or were razed to the ground by the iconoclastic fury of the victorious.²

The close link that existed between Nepal and Karnataka and has been indicated above would naturally suggest a link in the field of art and architecture as well. M.A. Dhaky³ has made a brilliant analysis of the different styles of temple architecture that existed or flourished in India on the basis of evidence of two inscriptions on (*Vāstuvīdyā*) and has distinguished the following five styles: (i) *Nāgara*, (ii) *Kaliṅga*, (iii) *Drāviḍa*, (iv) *Vesara* and (v) *Bhūmija*. The four styles mentioned in serial order are mentioned in the Amritesvara Temple inscription dated 1153 Saka (A.D. 1231) at Holal⁴ and the last in the Kotisvara temple of the 12th-13th centuries at Kupputur.⁵

The styles are to be found as decorative elements in south Indian temples.

The *Nāgara* style has been described in the *Vastuśāstras* as a building which is square from the basis upto the *stūpa* or the crowning member.

The *Drāviḍa* style was hexagonal or octagonal from the *grīvā* to the *stūpi*, but the term was extended to the basal form from the bottom upwards (*Kāmikāgama*). 'Vesara' is not mentioned in any north Indian text. It is a mixed style, and in practice has been generally taken to refer to circular, apsidal or elliptical or square upto the neck, and round above.

The 'Kaliṅga' style is basically a *Nāgara* style in *Kaliṅgadeśa* (Orissa), though the distinctive characteristic seems to spring from the 'tiered' pyramidal form as appears in the *jagmohans* or the halls connected with the *śikhara* shrine by the *antarāla*. This is tentative.

The *Bhūmija* style is characterized by *kūtas* or *śriṅgas* placed over miniature *stambhas* (pillars) in the form of a garland of beads (*Śriṅgānām mālīkā kramah*). The *sukanāsa* consists of "trivalli surasena front", and the *mālā* has at its root a "surasena made of single dormer window". Very peculiarly the crowning member is in the form of three tiers of umbrellas (*padmachchhatra*).

¹R.S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, Banaras, 1937, pp. 168-72.

²*Ibid.*, p. 350.

³M.A. Dhaky, *The Indian Temple Forms*, New Delhi, 1977.

⁴*Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. 8, Sorab No. 275.

⁵A.R. of Asst. Archaeological Superintendent, Southern Circle, for Epigraphy for 1915, p. 90.

The oldest Proto-*Bhūmija* temple of the 7th-8th centuries has been found in Dakshina Kosala by Don Stadner. But *Bhūmija* temples proper date from A.D. 1060 (Ambarnatha temple at Sinnar) apart from some of the 10th century in Malava.

Dhaky has also analysed the *Vārāṭa* style of temples referred to in the *Rūpa-maṇḍana* (II, 5), *Kāmikāgama*, and *Samarāṅgana Sūtradhāra*, and indicated that it is characterized by a storied *śikhara* without the *jaṅghā* walling (vertical shaft or wall).

In addition Dhaky has referred to the mention of several styles of temple architecture occurring in the inscription at the Lakshmidēvi temple at Doddagaddahalli,¹ namely, *Vimāna*, *Sarvatobhadra*, *Vrīṣabha*, *Nalinaka*, *Uttuṅga*, *Vairāja*, *Garuḍa*, *Vardhamāna*, *Śaṅkha*, *Pushpaka*, and *Griharāja*, etc. The significance of most of these styles is not yet understood, and they would not, therefore, lend themselves readily to comparison with the extant specimens of temples.

Dhaky has also drawn our attention to the strikingly significant fact that most of the *Āgama* texts, in fact, as many as nine, are south Indian texts, there being only one north Indian (in fact, eastern Indian) *Āgamic* text, apart from other texts which serve as sources of information on Indian temple styles.

He has rightly emphasized the catholicity of the south Indian, especially the Karnatan, people as a whole, who have dealt with north Indian temple styles as well as compositions for their music, unlike their compatriots from north India.

The close contact of Nepal with the cultural traditions of Karnataka from the beginning of the 14th century, with a strong possibility of the contact having started about two and a quarter centuries earlier with the coming in of Nanyadeva in Mithila in A.D. 1097, has already been discussed.

The descent from the Karnataka dynasty features prominently in the inscriptions of some of the Malla kings, especially Pratapamalla and Parthivendramalla. This phenomenon together with the circumstances of constant contacts being maintained in several ways *e.g.*, through matrimonial alliances, visits of scholars, presence of scholars in court, and the presence of the priests from south India in the Paśupati temple and the natural predilection of the rulers for the ancestral homeland, particularly, because the ancestral line was illustrious, and the fact that Jaya Sthitimalla, who owed his power and position to Rajalladevi, even as Chandragupta I had owed his position to the Lichchhavis, may have led to the influx of cultural influences from that direction. The fact that the Senas who replaced the Palas in Bengal and Bihar had also hailed from Karnataka in the 12th century and had cultural contacts with Nepal is also perfectly natural.

¹R. Narasimhachar, *The Lakshmidēvi temple at Doddagaddahalli*, Mysore Archaeological Series, No. III, Bangalore, 1919, p. 8, pl. I. It is interesting to observe the *pīḍa*-like serrated outlines of the Lakshmidēvi temple and many other shrines in the complex which recall the Orissan *jagmohan* and presage the serrated profile of the multiple-roofed temples of Nepal.

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Krishna Deva¹ also has dealt with the theme of *Bhūmija* temples, and has described their basic characteristics. Among them is a feature *kūṭastambha* or *stambhakūṭa*, meaning miniature *śikhara*s resting on pilasters, with a *pañcharatha* outline. *Śikhara* temples in Nepal have also been called *granthakūṭa* which probably means with incorporated *kūṭas*. In the case of the octagonal shrines in all the three cities of Kathmandu Bhaktapur and Patan, the temples sometimes have miniature *śikhara*s in the different tiers along each facet of the *śikhara*. It is thus that the square shrine of Krishna at Patan (d. A.D. 1637) has twenty one small *śikhara*s supported on pillars. It would be rather far-fetched to suggest its classification as *Bhūmija*, but the parallelism is irresistible.

Nevertheless, the *śikhara* style of temples of Nepal would not seem to bear any definitive association with south India, for the style is basically of north India. The *śikhara* temple complexes (the word *granthakūṭa* may probably be applied to this style) show the following common features: the *ratha* plan, the gradually conically rising top, the presence of the *āmalaka* over the *grivā* and the *kalasa* and *vijapūraka* finial. But the phenomenon of *udgamas*, *jālas*, niches on the facets, sculptural embellishment on the outer walls of the temples, the *bhūmi* or *konāmālakas*, the *sukanāsa* are generally absent. The temples, however, have a porch in front, and rarely on all the four sides, supported on pillars, surmounted by a miniature *śikhara*, acquiring an aspect of *kūṭastambha* or *stambhakūṭa* of the *Bhumija* temples of Malwa, mentioned above. The typical serrated outline of the *Bhūmija* temple at Ambarnath bears comparison with the serrated outline of *devāla* temples.

However, the *sarvatobhadra* is known. Yet another distinctive but occasional feature of the Nepalese *śikhara* temple is the raised multiple plinth and multiple storeys of the *śikhara* with multiple *mandapas* in the form of a niche on all the four sides, or a lofty staircase approach. The occurrence of the *chhatrī*-like pavilions numbering 21, in several storeys in a receding order, as exemplified in the early 17th century Krishna temple at Patan is reminiscent of the *chhatrīs* popularized by the Rajput dynasties, and is indicative of a possible source of inspiration like the turban and tunic-like dress of royal figures in stone and metal seen in association.

Mention must also be made in this context of the rather rare octagonal temples, called in Newari as the Chyasing *devāla* which occur in the Durbar squares of Kathmandu (Hanuman Dhoka) and Patan. They are octagonal from the bottom to the top.

There are instances of circular temples as at the entrance to the Hanuman Dhoka Palace, Kathmandu, and in an enclosure adjoining the Paśupati temple at Deopatan in the *devāla* styles of temples.

The occurrence of the gilt-bronze life-size figures of Ganga and Yamuna (pls. LXXXI & LXXXII) flanking the entrance to the Devi temple (A.D. 1565) at the

¹K. Deva, 'Bhumija Temples', *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, 1975, pp. 90-1.

Mulchok, Patan or the Taleju Bhavani temple at Bhaktapur of the time of Bhupatindra-malla as well as the *bas relief* sculptured figures on either side of a small Brahma or Siva temple, with the *lalātabimba*, in the Paśupati temple premises at Kathmandu is a reflection of the much earlier practice in India which goes back to the Gupta and Vakataka times. The Cave No.17 at Ajanta has a doorway with the figures of Ganga and Yamuna flanking it. The inscription accompanying it attributes it to a feudatory of the Vakataka king Harishena, and it is datable to the 5th century A.D. *Kumarasambhavam* of Kalidasa (canto VII, śloka 42) reflects this features in the following words :

Mūrte cha Gaṅgāyāmune tadānīm sachāmāre devaṁ asevishātām

In the Nepalese context the introduction of the figures of Ganga and Yamuna would be meaningless unless they are to be connected with the source of inspiration. That the practice of sculpting Ganga and Yamuna on either side of a temple originated in the Gupta period is indicated by the evidence of the *bas relief* figures of Ganga and Yamuna both in anthropomorphic and iconic forms on the wall of the Varaha cave at Udayagiri, and in the early temples of the Gupta period. This is a feature which, however, remains confined to northern India, though all the three sacred rivers are found carved contiguously against the escarped sides of the excavated quadrangle of the Kailasanatha temple at Ellora in the Deccan.

The mention of the eternal rivers Ganga and Yamuna in the Patan Krishna temple stone inscription providing the eternal existence of the temple has, therefore, no relevance except in an overall cultural context which has a significant bearing on the present study.

The conical superstructures of some temples in Karnataka bear resemblance to the *jagmohans* of Orissan temples in their shape and serrated or storied profile. Some of the earliest such examples are reported from Hampi where there is a group of temples on Hemakuta hills of this order datable to *circa* 8th century A.D.¹ The serrated or storied aspect is also seen in some of the Bengal temples of the *śikhara* type.

Penelope Chetwode² has included "the free-standing Pagoda style consisting of from two to five superimposed roofs directly over the *garbha-griha*" among the different styles of temples occurring in the Manali and Kulu hills of the Western Himalayas in Himachal Pradesh.

To this group belong the Hidimba Devi temple (pl. LXXXIII) at Dhungri near Manali, Distt. Kulu, of the 16th century and two wooden temples of Devi at Kao, Distt. Mandi, of about the same date or about a 100 years younger (pl. LXXXV). The former has four roofs rising in receding tiers to a conical point supporting a conical *vijapūraka* top. The latter have two roofs surmounted by an *āmalaka* with a *vijapūraka*. Both these temples are built on a raised terrace and are surrounded by a pillared verandah all round for circumambulation.

¹B.R. Prasad, 'Sukanasa in Dravidian Architecture', *Journ. Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XX, No. 1, Sept. 1970.

²See *Arts of Himachal*, (ed. V.C. Ohri), 1975. The Hidimba Devi (Hirma) temple is dated A.D. 1553, see Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, I, Appendix I.

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These appear, however, to be linear successors of *piḍa* type temples, which are available in miniature (in stone at Nagar and Jagatsukh, respectively, both in Distt. Kulu). The former as dated to the 9th century and the latter to the 9th-10th centuries. There is a comparable shrine of Mahadeva (Baseshar) at Bajaura in the same district, but built in the 8th century A.D. The Siva and other temple at Hatkoti Distt. Simla, of the 7th-8th century are also serrated in outline and curvilinear in profile but the basic component of superimposed roofs or appendages are present in all these temples. They are also devoid of the axial complex, except for the *śukanāsa-ardhamandapa*, sometimes on all the four sides.¹

It may be suggested at this stage once again that these are the lineal predecessors of the so-called pagoda style, which once again represent the local response to environment.

Professor Sarasi Kumar Saraswati has analysed the different types of temples that were evolved by the Palas in eastern India (Bengal and Bihar) in the chapter on Architecture, Sculpture and Painting in the *History of Bengal*, edited by R.C. Majumdar. This analysis has led to the following classification (p. 495) :

(i) The *bhadra*, *piḍa* or tiered type, in which the roof over the sanctum consists of a series of gradually receding tiered stages crowned by the usual finials including the *āmalaka* (fig. 8).

(ii) The *rekhā* or the *śikhara* type, characterised by a high curvilinear tower and the usual crowning elements.

(iii) The tiered type surmounted by a *stūpa*.

(iv) The tiered type surmounted by a *śikhara*.

At the same time he has drawn our attention to the rarity of all the types except the second. He is also of the view that the tiered type travelled to further India and Indonesia, and the extant examples in the areas of influence indicate the pristine forms in Bengal, Bihar which inspired them. Pagan in Burma has quite a large number of such temples (fig. 2). "The earliest representation of such a temple may be found on some sculptures from Sarnath and the type may thus go back to the Gupta period". This is a very significant observation of Professor Saraswati and would point to a pre-Pala source of inspiration for the tiered or multiple-roofed temples of Nepal.

In this context reference may be made to the structural temple at Gop² in the Barda hills, Distt. Halar, Gujarat, of the Maitraka-Valabhi period (mid-6th century A.D.). The temple stands on a high plinth in the midst of a courtyard which is 66 ft. (20.117 m.)

¹See *Arts of Himachal* (ed. V.C. Ohri), 1975.

²P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-7, fig. 59; K.V. Soundara Rajan, 'A Note on the Age of the Gop Temple', *Journ. Orient Inst.*, Baroda, Vol. XIV, no. 2, pp. 186-92. Also see J. Burgess *Antiquities of Kathiawar and Kachh*, Arch. Surv. Western India, II, London, 1876 and H. Cousens, *Somanatha and other Medieval Temples in Kathiawad*, Archaeological Surv. Ind., Vol. XLV, Imp. Ser...Calcutta, 1931, pp. 6 ff. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 15, 77, 79 and 82.

square. The temple too is square in plan with an enclosed space measuring 10 ft. 9 in. $\times$ 10 ft. 9 in. (328 cm. $\times$ 328 cm.). The roof rises conically in two tiers anticipating the multiple roofs of Nepalese temples as of other regions. The transformation or mutation of the tiered type into the multiple-roofed top with a serrated profile was only developmental. The possibility of this type of temples having come into existence at the time of Amsuvarman in Nepal has already been indicated. The evidence from Kathiawar would indicate that Bengal may not have been the only source of inspiration for this style of temples. The *sarvatobhadra* Śiva temple at Payar, 10 k.m. from Avantipura, Distt. Anantanag, Kashmir, which conforms to this type with its two tiered roof (pl. LV) is dated to the 11th century A.D. and attributed to Anantadeva of the Lohar dynasty.¹ The possibility of a directional trend of cultural influence has been indicated. The numerous instances of local responses in architecture in the form of expansive and protective roofs raised over *śikhara* type of temples in Almora, Dehradun, Kangra, and Chamba would point to a multi-directional trend.

As regards the *rekhā* style of temples (i.e., the *śikhara* shrine), the earliest example in Bengal is stated to be a temple at Barakar, dated to about the 8th century or slightly later. Though cruciform in cross-section on ground-plan as a result of intermediate *bhadra* projections on all sides giving them a multi-*ratha* outline in plan, and being columnar in elevation, these temples do not have any ancillary structures comparable to the Orissan temples of the same category.

The temple of the *śikhara* type in Nepal lack most of the characteristics of the *śikhara* shrines of the Indian sub-continent such as sculptural decorations, the motif of *udgamas* and *jālas*, the curvilinear outlines or the ribbed elevation (*pāgas*), the *bhūmi āmalakas* or *koṇa āmalakas*, as spacers and breakers of the exterior surface, though the crowning *āmalaka* as well as the finial of the miniature *stūpa* or *śikhara* shrine are observable in Nepal. It is not unlikely, therefore, that Bengal and Bihar may have had earlier prototypes of later Nepalese architecture as the epicentres for their expansion, as in the case of Burma, Campuchea or Indonesia, as contact overland was understandably much easier than over the deterrent barriers of the high seas.

In this context mention may be made of the Tirhut style of temples prevailing in the Tirhut region, i.e., Mithila which borders on Nepal. The Tirhut area evolved a style of temples called the Tirhut style, which was characterised by a square cella, covered by a sloping roof to keep off the rain water. The walls were plain and unembellished. In course of time a narrow portico or *maṇḍapa* (the *ardhamanḍapa*)

¹H. Goetz, *Medieval Sculpture of Kashmir*, Studies in the History and Art of Kashmir, Wiesbaden, 1969; R.C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*; R.D. Trivedi 'The Paramaras of Malwa and Kashmir Art', *Art of the Paramaras* (ed. R.K. Sharma), Delhi, 1979, pp. 37-8. Also see K. Deva, 'The Bhumija temples', *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, Varanasi, 1975. The phenomenon of multiple functional roofs was also applied to mosques in Kashmir, e.g., the Khan Qa Masjid (pl. XXXVI) at Srinagar, dated to the 14th century.

was introduced at the entrance presumably "to keep the fierceness of the sun from entering the shrine."¹ Numerous shrines of this type have been mentioned. The Hara Mandira at Bagadā (Champaran), the Kamalesvaranatha temple at Triveni (Champaran), the Mahadevasthana at Saurāṭha (Darbhanga), the Rama temple at Ahīarī (Darbhanga), the Bhagavati and Rama temples at Subegarh (Muzaffarpur), the Kankali temple at Simraongarh and the Rama temple at Muzaffarpur, respectively.

It is not unlikely that the square cella with a sloping roof as the simplest form of temple may have exercised its share of influence on the temple architecture of Nepal.²

(v) *The Evidence of Kerala*

H. Sarkar has made a detailed study of the Kerala temples.³ He divides the temples chronologically into three phases, called, respectively : (i) the Early Phase (A.D. 800-1000), (ii) the Middle Phase (A.D. 1001-1300) and (iii) the Late Phase (A.D. 1301-1800).⁴ The similarity between Nepal and Kerala of the roofs has already been mentioned. In this connexion it would be worthwhile to quote in full the note of caution sounded by Sarkar⁵: "It is often believed that the architecture of Nepal and other Himalayan regions is similar to that of Kerala. Likewise, it is compared with the architecture of various Far Eastern Countries. But it is to be borne in mind, before suggesting any common link, that an area of heavy rainfall or snow will naturally develop sloping roofs; further, there are certain inherent patterns in timber constructions which give rise to similar external forms and features. Truly speaking, a closer examination is likely to disclose many divergences between the architectural style of Kerala, basically a south Indian tradition, and that of Far Eastern country or a Himalayan region. A recent study on the method of roof construction in the different parts of South-East Asia has brought out wide disparities between Kerala and other areas. So far as the construction of walls and entablature are concerned they are typically south Indian. Multiple-roof, in the sense the term has been used in the history of Nepalese or South-East Asian Architecture, was never in vogue in Kerala, where the number of roofs is rarely three and generally only two. Nor was the idea of multi-terraced base ever popular in the temple architecture of the west coast. In spite of all these are likely to exist, specially in the *sāndhāra* arrangement between Kerala and distant Nepal, as both areas may have inherited some traits *from a common source*." (Italics mine).

The multiplicity of the roofs, though limited to three, at the most, in Kerala, and the use of tiles or copper sheets⁶ are indeed common to Nepal and Kerala. The

¹Upendra Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 384; J.B.O. R.S., II, pp. 121-24.

²*Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, IV, pp. 123-3.

³H. Sarkar, *An Architectural Survey of Temples of Kerala*, New Delhi, 1978.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 97-99.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 58. The earliest reference to the use of copper sheets to cover the conical roofs in Kerala occurs in an inscription dated 427 Kollam, i.e., A.D. 1252 at the Janardana temple at Varkkala in District Trivandrum, Kerala.

priority of the beginnings of temple architecture in Kerala, which cannot be traced earlier than the 9th century A.D.,¹ most of the multiple-roofed temple in Kerala, regardless of the difference of the form of the basal structure, fall within the Early and Middle Phases, *i.e.*, between A.D. 800 and 1300, whereas the earliest extant evidence of this aspect of the Nepalese temple goes back to A.D. 1391 (*e.g.*, Kumbhesvara temple at Patan) is a factor to reckon with. This itself would probably indicate the possible directional trend, though the suggested common source referred to above remains as elusive as ever.

In this context it would be worthwhile to consider the roof forms and dates of the multiple-roofed or conical roofed temples in Kerala.

The Krishna temple at Tirukkulasekharapuram, District Trichur, which has two roofs, covered with tiles, is dated to the 9th century A.D., though there are inscriptions on the temple of upto the 12th century².

The Kilatali Siva temple at Methala, near Tiruvanchikulam, District Trichur, which is a square shrine on a raised platform and has two storied conical roofs, is dated to the 9th century³.

The Lakshmi-Narayana temple at Paniyur, District Palghat⁴ has a single tiled roof, and is dated to the 10th century A.D. The apsidal Kalasambharamurti temple at Tripangod, in District Malappuram, has a gable front, breaking the outline, with three sets of *kalasas* placed over the ridged top. Sarkar has dated the middle phase of this temple to 12th century⁵. Though the apsidal plan of temple is unknown in Nepal, the placement of a row of *kalasas* over the ridged roof is a common phenomenon.

The Siva temple at Tiruvanchikulam, District Trichur, which has two roofs, with dormer windows on all four sides of the upper roof, came into existence before the time of Rajasekharavarman (*c.* A.D. 820-844).⁶

The Siva temple at Kandiur, District Alleppey, which was two roofs is dated to A.D. 823, and is considered to be one of the earliest datable temples in Kerala of this type.⁷

The Narayanakannur temple at Ramantali, District Cannanore is a circular shrine with a single conical roof and is dated to 928 A.D.⁸

¹*Ibid.*, p. 61.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 154-58, pl. XI A.

³*Ibid.*, pp., 158-60, pl. XVI A.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 161-63, pl. XVII C.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 225-26, pl. XIX B.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 152, pl. XX A.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 153, pl. XX B. Incidentally, it may be pointed out that this is earlier than the commencement of the Newari era in 879 by Raghavadeva and called otherwise as the *Paśupati bhāṭṭāraka Saṁvatsara*.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 181, pl. XXII A.

The Rajarajesvara temple at Tiruchchambaram, District Cannanore, with a conical roof is a square *sāndhāra* shrine, practically without an interlinked ancillary shrine belongs to the Early Phase of temple architecture in Kerala¹. In the absence of the ancillary structures, despite a detached *maṇḍapa* in front of it (*i.e.*, the *ṇamaskāra maṇḍapa*), this structure compares very well with the *sarvatobhadra* temples of Nepal.

The Krishna temple at Tiruchchambaram in the same district (Cannanore), has two roofs, of copper sheets, with a dormer window in the centre of each side of the upper roof, and is dated to the 9th century².

The Madattilappan Siva temple at Peruvanam, District Trichur, is described as the first *tritāla-vimāna* (three-storied) of the Chera country (Kerala), and has three superimposed roofs with a dormer window in the centre of each side of the topmost roof³ and is dated to the Middle Phase of temple architecture in Kerala (A.D. 1001-1300).

The Iraṭṭayappan temple at Peruvanam, District Trichur, is a circular shrine, and has a single roof covered with copper sheets, and on the basis of its similarity to the Vadakkunatha temple at Trichur (pl. LVII) and the Rama temple at Triprayar (Pl. LIX), it is dated to the 11th century, for each of these last mentioned temples is associated with an inscription of this period.⁴

The Subramanya temple at Manjeri, District Mallppuram, is a circular shrine, with two superimposed roofs covered with copper sheets, and is probably dated to the 12th century on the basis of an inscriptional record, if not still earlier.⁵

The Anantapadmanabhasvami temple at Anantapuram is a square shrine with two roofs, partly tiled, but mostly covered with copper sheets, is dated to the 11th-12th centuries.⁶

The Vamana-Mahavishnu temple at Tirkakara, District Ernakulam, is a circular shrine with a single roof covered with copper sheets and is dated to the Middle Phase of the temple architecture of Kerala.⁷

The Vadakhunatha temple complex at Trichur, District Trichur has a three-roofed gateway complex (pl. LVIII), with tiled roofs, and comprises the Vadakhunatha temple (pl. LVII), a circular shrine with a single copper-sheeted roof, and the Rama temple with two copper sheeted roofs and the Sankara Narayana temple. Of these the

¹*Ibid.*, p. 176-77, pl. XXII B.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 177-79, pl. XXV.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 192-93, pl. XXVII A.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 208-9, pl. XXVII B.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 200-01, pl. XXXVIII A.

⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 197-98, pl. XXXIII B.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 200, pl. XXXIII.

Vadakhunatha is the oldest and is datable to the 11th century on the basis of an inscription on its plinth.¹ The Kuttambalam illustrated in pl. XXXVIA by Sarkar conforms in shape and profile to the rectangular shrines with a ridged roof, marked by a row of three *kalasas*, placed symmetrically along with axial line.

The Rama temple at Triprayar (pl. LIX), District Trichur, is a single-storied circular shrine, and is dated to the 11th century A.D. on the basis of an inscription on the plinth of the temple.² The figure of a dwarfish male figure blowing a conch occurring below the extreme end of the *pranāla* (outlet for the waste waters from the *sanctum*) is significant in this context. This feature occurs in several other temples in Kerala, such at the Siva temple at Vaikam and Rama temple at Tiruvillamalai (pl. LX) etc.

The Subrahmanya temple at Manjeri, District Malappuram is a circular shrine in two storeys with its roofs covered with copper sheets and is dated to the 11th century.³

That the use of multiple roofs continued even in the Late Phase (A.D. 1301-1800) is indicated by Subrahmanya temple at Udayanapuram, District Kottayam. It is a two-storied temple, with two superimposed roofs covered with copper sheets, with a dormer window in the centre of each side of the upper roof.⁴ That there were intermediate specimens of the type showing a continuity, is indicated by the Tali temple at Kohzikode, District Kozhikode. It is a two-storied temple (*dvitala vimāna*), with its roofs covered by tiles.⁵ It is dated to before A.D. 1500, possibly in the beginning of the 15th century.

Enough evidence has been cited to indicate the universal popularity of the multiple-roofed aspect of the Kerala temples from A.D. 800 onwards (pl. XVI). This architectural form was no doubt a stratagem to counteract the effects of heavy rainfall occurring in coastal Kerala. The use of struts and figural sculptures serving the purpose of supporting the roofs is a common endeavour (pl. LC), though absolute similarity does not exist. The prevalence of the *sāndhāra* and square plan, even in the cases of circular shrines, and the comparative paucity or near absence of the ancillary structures, except the *mukhamandapa*, wherever it exists, and the detached *namaskāra mandapa* are other points of commonness. The erection of a conch-blowing dwarfish figure under the *pranāla* (i.e., the ornamental outlet of water from the *sanctum*) (pl. LXXXIV) occurs limitedly in Nepal also, e.g., at Changu Narayana. Even in Nepal the most popular number of roofs is three, though two-roofed and one-roofed structures are common in Nepal. There are only two five-roofed temples in Nepal, and

¹*Ibid.*, pp. 204-06, pl. XXXV B.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 206-08, pl. XL A.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 200-01, pl. XXXVIII.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 244-46, pl. L B.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 246-49.

only one with four roofs. The actual arrangement of the woodwork would understandably vary from region to region. The elusive common source suggested by Sarkar is yet to be traced, but the similarities of the architectural approach to the problem and the priority of the dates of the Kerala temples should be a pointer towards one of the possible sources of ideational inspiration.

(vi) *The Evidence of the Temples of Karnataka*

One of the earliest extant examples of the multiple-roofed temples, in their incipient stage, is represented by the Lad Khan temple at Aihole, District Bijapur, Karnataka, dated to *circa* 450 A.D.¹ It had, however, a flat top. The *śikhara* rose up in tiers in imitation of the plain courses of multiple roofs as it were as time passed.² But in course of time these plain courses lent themselves to decorative sculpture, breaking of the square outline into symmetrically recessed sides,³ and the spire itself was raised to great heights as technical skill advanced, keeping pace with the dictates of patronage.

The numerous multiple-roofed temples and other structures in the Karnataka area, particularly, around Mudabidri, District South Kanara (pls. LXI-LXIV), have already been mentioned. These range in point of time from the 12th century to the 15th.⁴ In this connexion it may be pointed out that Brown felt that there was a striking analogy between these temples and those in the Himalayas and this, according to him, could perhaps be "accounted for by the builders in each region endeavouring in their construction to solve the problems presented by the extreme changes of climate, in mitigating the effect of the fierce tropical sun alternating with heavy monsoon rains".⁵ Yet he cannot help expressing the significant view, "it is difficult to believe that the analogy between the two styles of building and methods of construction is due to *both people reasoning alike*" (*italics mine*).

Cousens also noted the phenomenon of sloping roofs occurring at Bhatkal, District North Kanara, and observed the similarity with Nepalese architecture, but dismissed it without further argument on the ground that this was a local phenomenon with the following words, "this method of roof construction is, therefore, no more than a copy in stone of the thatched roofs of the country, rendered necessary by the exigency of the climate and made possible by the ease with which the great laterite slabs could be quarried on the spot".⁶

Notwithstanding Cousens' views, the close link between Karnataka and Nepal from A.D. 1097 onwards, as amply demonstrated earlier, would preclude the ready

¹P. Brown, *op. cit.*, (*Buddhist and Hindu Periods*), pp. 52-3, pl. XLIV, fig. 1.

²H. Cousens, *op. cit.*, 1926, pl. XIX, Aihole : temple no. 10.

³*Ibid.*, pl. XIV, Aihole: temple no. 9

⁴Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁶H. Cousens, *Ibid.*, pp. 134-35, pls. CXLIII & CXLIV.

acceptance of the dictum of Cousens in regard, leastways, to an ideational inspiration. This is seen in the infinite variations even in the *śikhara* or *vimāna* shrines within their groups, in the different parts of India, though they are all tied by a common thread of ideological and primordial motivation as a parallel phenomenon in developmental experience.

(vii) *The Evidence of Himalayan and other Areas in India*

That Chamba came under the religio-artistic influence of the Guptas, the Pratiharas and of Lalitaditya of Kashmir has been stated by H. Goetz.¹ As a matter of fact, the *Audumbara* coins, going back to the 3rd century B.C., and sporting the multiple-roofed hut, occur in Chamba. That the Kashmir temples of the 8th-10th centuries exercised their impact on Chamba is indicated by the remains of the Lakṣhaṇā Devī temple at Bhramor, dating back to the 10th century A.D., though largely repaired and modified. Goetz felt that the "Markula Devi Temple in Lahul may also date from this time, though no original works of so early a date survives. But part of the latter has been copied during repairs in the 11/12th and 16th centuries, e.g., the Trivikrama of the eastern window panel, and the Nagas beneath his feet, or more conspicuous semi-Gupta groups of Gandharvas and Apsarases on the ceiling of the *maṇḍapa*."²

That the so-called pagoda type of temples possibly penetrated the entire Himalayan region is understandable. Let us consider what Goetz had to say on the subject, "Generally the characteristic temple tower (pagoda type) of some Kulu temples, with its three successive roofs, is believed to have been imported from Nepal, where it is common even to-day. But as Nepalese sculpture is so strongly indebted to the Harshavardhana tradition, the question arises whether the pagoda tower also did not come from the Indian plains and from there was introduced into Nepal and Kulu in the course of the 7th century."³

It is indeed true that sculptural styles had entered into Nepal as early as the 5th or 6th century A.D., if not still earlier. But the fact that the influence and change that the sculptural art received at the hands of the Nepalese artists seldom came out again would preclude, for similar reasons, a reverse flow of the architectural style as well, though it was much simpler to adopt. This argument gains strength from the fact that the form of multiple-roofed temples or religious structures was already known as early as the 1st or 2nd century A.D., e.g., the Kanishka *stūpa* at Shahji-ki-Dheri near Peshawar.

Though the existing temples in the Chamba area have all been completely modified, the remains of much worn out wooden sculptures and woodworks would point to a different form of a structure in the earlier days.

¹H. Goetz, *The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba*, Leiden, 1955.

²*Ibid.*, p. 67.

³*Ibid.*, p. 63.

Goetz was of the view that most of the temples in Chamba were of the so-called pagoda type of several roofs, and would trace their origin to the Gupta tradition.¹

The Markula Devi temple which still has the semblance of multiple roofs in the style of the Hiḍimbā Devi (Hirmā) temple (pl. LXXXIII) near Manali, is, in its present form, slightly earlier than the latter.²

There are twin temples of Devi at Kao, near Karsog, District Mandi, which has the multiple-roofed form (pl. LXXXIV), but dated variously to the 15th or 18th century, as an instance perhaps of later development in the linear order, if not a predecessor.

The facade of the Lakṣhaṇā Devī temple at Bhramor³ has the trefoil arch enclosed in a triangular pediment, which is characteristic of Kashmir. Though it is now a gable-roofed shrine, anciently, when it was built by Meruvarman, a contemporary of Lalitaditya, builder of the Martanda temple, it must have been built in the typical multiple-roofed style of Kashmir, as pointed out by Vogel.⁴ That the temple was of many storeys is indicated by the reference to the construction of a *chandraśālā* (upper chamber) on the temple which was like the Meru mountain (*prāsādam Meru-sadriṣam*).⁵

Vogel has made a substantial contribution to the chronology of the rulers and dynasties of Chamba, as well of the chronology of the art and architecture of the region.⁶ He has illustrated two *śikhara* temples of Maṇimaheśa⁷ and Narasiṃha⁸ at Bhramor, the ancient capital of Chamba. The former temple was originally built by Meruvarman (8th century) and the latter by the queen Tribhuvanarekha in the 10th century, and recorded by Yugakaravarman, son of Sahillavarman. Though presently they are *śikhara* shrines, they still carry the contraption of two superimposed umbrella-like roofs towards the top, no doubt, as relics of the multiple-roofed form of the original structures.

The foundation of the new capital at Chamba is attributed to Sahillavarman in the 11th century and of the group of six stone temples there, of which three are dedicated to Vishnu and three to Siva (pl. XCIV), five were founded by Sahillavarman, and only one, namely, that of Gaurī-Śaṅkara alone is attributed to his son and successor, Yugakaravarman.⁹

All of them have the contraption of multiple-roofed protective umbrellas, obviously as a relic of olden days.

¹*Ibid.*, p. 102.

²*Ibid.*, p. 101; This is dated to A.D. 1553.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 75-80, pls. Ib & II.

⁴J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, I, p. 7, fig. 2.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷*Ibid.*, fig. 16, on p. 98, p. 8.

⁸*Ibid.*, fig. 17, on p. 101, p. 8.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 10.

The Lakṣhaṇā Devī temple at Bhramor¹ is attributed to Meruvarman, in the beginning of the 8th century, and it still retains in its remnants memories of its pristine form in the pediment containing a trefoil arch (as in the Kashmir temples), an elaborately carved wooden overdoor and a gable-ended ridged roof. The Sakti Devi temple at Chatrarhi is also attributed to Meruvarman in the beginning of the 8th century A.D.² In its present form it is a rectangular structure with two superimposed roofs. In front of it is a miniature shrine with a conical roof made of slabs of stone. The Gum inscription³ of Ashadhadeva, a feudatory of Meruvarman, records the construction of the (Siva) Shankaliśa temple at a place called Sivapura.

The temple of Chamunda at Mindhal⁴ is a ridged rectangular structure with a gable front having a series of *kalasas* on the roof. Though its earliest datable record is a copper plate inscription dated 1698 V.S., or A.D. 1641, it carries forward an older tradition.

The temple at Baijnath (pl. CV), in the adjoining area of Kangra, which has the multiple-roof idiom on the ancillary structures, has two stone slab inscriptions, dated to Saka *saṃvat* 1126 and Sastra *saṃvat* 80 (A.D. 1204), which record the construction of the Siva temple of Vaidyanatha (Baijnath) during the reign of king Jayachandra of Jālaṇdhara.⁵

In this context, mention may be made of the Sarahan *praśasti* inscription,⁶ recording, among others, the construction of the Chandraśekhara temple, now identified with the temple of Chandrasekh at Saho, by Satyaki. It is attributed traditionally to Sahillavarman (10th-11th centuries), which is borne out by the palaeography of the inscriptions. Though it has been rebuilt, it probably retains in its present form the outline of the pristine features of conical roofs.

It is to be noted that quite a large number of enclosed fountains exist in Chamba and they are the counterparts of the *makara-dhārās* of *dhūṅge-dhārās* of Nepal, but in form as well as sculptural features they are entirely different from the Nepalese specimens, with the single exception of a *makara* head on the ruined fountain at Mulkihar. The inscription engraved on it attributes it to Goga during the reign of prince Vijaya towards the end of the 12th century.⁷ But the *makara* head need not be traced to Nepal, for, apart from its obvious difference of form, there is no other influence, structural, architectural or sculptural that can be traced to that direction. On the contrary, the directional trend of artistic forms has been clearly indicated in the section dealing with the evidence from Kashmir (*supra* pp. 214 ff.).

¹*Ibid.*, fig. 2, p. 7.

²*Ibid.*, p. 8, fig. 3 and p. 145.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 145-47.

⁴*Ibid.*, fig. 7, p. 16.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 257, Appendix I (A).

⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 152 ff., fig. 24 on p. 154.

⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 224-32, fig. 26 on p. 225.

Reference has already been made to the presence of several temples in the Himalayan belt of Uttar Pradesh which have adopted the protective umbrella-like appendage (see page 81, foot-note no. 1). Except perhaps the temples of Kedarnath and Badrinath, which have undergone many repairs and modifications, none of the others, namely, the temples of Dwarhat and Jageswar in District Almora (pl. XLI), Mahassu at Hanol (pls. CIII & CIV) and Lakhamandal (pls. XCI-XCIII) in District Dehradun is later than the 12th century. In fact, most of them are very much earlier and date between the 9th and 10th centuries. The Siva temple at Lakhamandal could be dated to the 9th century, the Jageswar temple complex to the 9th century and the Mahassu temple at Hanol could be dated to the 11th century. They conform very much in style to the *śikhara* shrines of north India and share the characteristics of the *śikhara* shrines of Nepal which integrally do not have any protective appendages nor umbrella-like eaves, despite the arresting juxtaposition of the multiple-roofed *devala* shrines in the vicinity. It may be noted that the Mahassu temple is also a single unit temple like the Nepalese *śikhara* temples, to which the ancillary *maṇḍapas* have been added later with incongruously ramshackle materials.

In this context the evidence of the two-storied structures appearing on the *Auḍumbara* coins of circa 2nd-1st century B. C. show either two-storied domed *stūpas*, as interpreted by J. Allan¹ or as multiple-roofed covered *maṇḍapas* and fills a gap in the story of either or both aspects, namely, the multiple plinths and multiple roofs of Indian and Nepalese architecture.

Rural Bengal is known to this day for its *dochālā*,² *chauchālā* or *āṭchālā*, i.e., two-facetted, four-facetted single-roofed or eight-facetted twin-roofed, houses, respectively. It was this primary form which gave rise to parallel forms in temple architecture as the most natural corollary. The multiple-roofed form was no doubt a precursor of the sophisticated form of the serrated or multiple-roofed outline, which reached definition in the 7th century in Bengal and Bihar as shown by Professor Saraswati.³ Its ancestry can be easily traced to the 3rd century B.C. as indicated in the engraved outlines of two double-storied granaries on the bronze plate from Sohgaura (in the Gorakhpur District of Uttar Pradesh).

The phenomenon of the serrated outline of the roof, partaking of the profile of multiple roofs, is fully reflected in the *pīḍa* phenomenon (pls. LXXXVI & CV) which occurs commonly throughout India, especially in Orissa. The temple of Siva at Baijnath (pl. CV) is reminiscent of the temples of (*pīḍa deuls*) Orissa, particularly, those

¹John Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins at the British Museum*, London, 1936, pp. lxxxiii, 122-23, pl. XV.

²The antiquity of the *dochālā* has been adduced by a Sunga pillar now in the Archaeological Museum at Sarnath. See A. Banerji, *Temples of Tripura*, Varanasi, 1968, frontispiece.

³R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 497-98; 'Temples of Bengal,' *Journ. Ind. Soc. of Oriental Art*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1934, pp. 130-40. Though late, the Haṁseśvari temple at Bansberia, Distt. Hooghly, reflects the *sarojakalikopama* style of Nepalese inscription of the 19th century. See page 77.

of Jagannatha at Puri and of Surya at Konarak. These phenomena, which can be traced back at least to the 7th century A.D., had reached a high watermark in the 13th century. The phenomenon is also reflected in the two-tiered pavilion on a *bas relief* sculpture from Konarak showing king Lakshmi-Narasimha Ganga¹, who had built the Sun temple at Konarak, Orissa, as an archer under a pavilion (pl. CVI).

The pavilion (pl. CVI) shows three phenomena which are common to Nepalese temple architecture, namely, (i) the multiple profile of the roof as in the rectangular shrines, (ii) the use of small-sized tiles (*jhingti*) on the roofs and (iii) the occurrence of a row of *kalasas* with *vijapūraka* over the ridge of the roof as in the case of the Taleju Bhavani temple at Bhaktapur.

It has already been indicated that though there are strong evidences of the possibilities of the existence of the multiple-roofed temple of Paśupati in the 7th century A.D., or even in A.D. 879, the point has not been established. It is, however, established beyond a shadow of doubt on the contrary that this form existed in Bengal and Uttar Pradesh as early as the 7th century A.D., and that these areas were spring-boards for similar structural forms in all South-East Asia, and should, therefore, have served equally for Nepal as well. The Paśupati temple at Kathmandu in the form of a square temple (on plan) with two roofs cannot, however, be positively dated prior to A.D. 1360 or 1349. Likewise the Kumbheśvara temple at Patan in the form of a rectangular temple (on plan) with five roofs cannot be dated prior to A.D. 1391. Both these dates are about a century or more later than the dates of the Puri and Konarak temples and of the *bas relief* panel referred to above (pl. CVI). This together with the evidence so succinctly clinched by Professor Saraswati would clearly indicate where the source of the style lay and in which way the directional trend flowed.

(viii) *The Evidence of the Architecture of Kashmir*

That several sources of ideational inspiration must have worked convergingly in Nepal is now clear to see.

There are several extant stone-built temples in Kashmir which possess the multiple roofs, and some have even the multiple-plinthed platform. These may as well have imparted their influence in Nepal. It would be worthwhile, therefore, to consider if this was at all possible. The history of Nepal records, as mentioned on pages 35-36 ante, that king Jayapida invaded Nepal towards the end of the 8th century A.D., though he won over or was repulsed by king Aramudi of Nepal. The historicity of this belief seems to receive support from the legendary account of king Jayapida's illustrious ancestor, king Lalitaditya Muktapida, also having gone to Nepal and thence to Bengal. It is, however, recorded that there was confrontation between king Yasovarman of Kanauj with Lalitaditya on the one hand and the king of Gauda on the other. These accounts would indicate the possibility of the existence of

¹The reign period of king Lakshmi-Narasimha Ganga is A.D. 1238-1264. The temple of Surya at Konarak is dated to c. A.D. 1250.

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a two-way traffic between Nepal and Kashmir, as early as the 8th century, if not still earlier. There is every indication that the traffic had started much earlier.

The chronology of the temples of the two countries would also indicate the directional trend of the styles involved. The earliest proveable date of the multiple-roofed temples in Nepal goes back to the end of the 14th century, with the marginal possibility of a slightly earlier date, say 100 years.

The examination of the structural forms of the Kashmir temples may now be made with a view to finding out their similarities with the temples of Nepal.

The temple of Siva at Pandrethan is a temple of the *sarvatobhadra* type without any ancillary structures. It is surmounted presently by a two-tiered roof, the third being apparently missing. This point, however, is not pressed.

The temple dates back to the 10th century A.D. and possibly a little earlier, judged by the style of the sculptures on the lanterned ceiling over the *sanctum sanctorum*.¹

The intact stone temple at Payar² has two roofs and a *sarvatobhadra* plan. This is apparently of the same date as the Siva temple at Pandrethan.

The miniature temple at Patan³ and the submerged one at Manasbal are similar in elevation⁴ and plan. But the other temples of Śaṅkara-Gaurīśvara and Sugandhesa at Patan, built towards the end of the 10th century A.D.⁵ or those at Wangath, Fathehgarh, and Buniar, besides the Sankaracharya temple at Srinagar itself are presently lacking the roofs, and may reasonably be expected to have had multiple-tiered pyramidal roofs in keeping with the prevalent style of the intact or nearly intact temples, and in view of the logical culmination of the architectural motif of the triangular pediment enclosing a trefoil arch still showing up amid the ruined remains. It is interesting to record that the temples of Sugandhesa and Śaṅkara-Gaurīśvara at Patan, and that at Buniar have two bases.

It is not unlikely, therefore, that the now ruined temples of Avantisvamin at Avantipur, built by Avantivarman (A.D. 855-883)⁶ and the temple of Martanda⁷

¹Dr. Mitra, *Pandrethan, Avantipur and Martand*, New Delhi, 1977, p. 20. The authoress after examining all the evidences comes to the conclusion, "On stylistic consideration of the sculptures on the ceiling and above the main door, the temple does not appear to be later than the tenth century."

²R.C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, London, 1933, pp. 62, 126-28, pl. LI.

³*Ibid.*, p. 62, pl. LVII.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 160-61, pl. LXI.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 59, pl. LVI.

⁶Mitra., *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 37-77, pls. X and XX (plan).

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 79ff, pl. XIV.

(Surya) at Matan believed to have been built by Ranaditya or one of his predecessors between A.D. 370-500 and enlarged together with the construction of its peristyle by Lalitaditya Muktapida (A.D. 724-60), probably had each a multiple-tiered pyramidal roof¹ comparable to those of Pandrethan, Payar and Patan, judged by prevalent prominence of the triangular pediment motif. Each of these two temples has also a raised plinth in two tiers, thus possessing the twin-aspects of multiple plinths and multiple roofs together much earlier than any known example in Nepal.

It may be stated that the stone-built temple became very popular in Kashmir as early as the 10th century, and probably still earlier. This possibility is indicated by two features which are to be traced to Graeco-Roman architectural characteristics of much earlier date, namely, the peristyle around the temple complex and the tringular pediment or tympanum prevailing in the Gandhara region. The recent discovery of a unique Saivite sculpture found associated with the ruined temple at Fatehgarh beyond Baramula, and datable stylistically to the 6th century would seem to lend support to this idea.² The absence of any temple specimens of still earlier periods would perhaps preclude a proof in spite of the possible earlier date of Avantisvamin temple, but the inspirational linkage and directional trend is unmistakeable. This is clearly noticeable in the early stone sculptures of Kashmir also. But the peristylar phenomenon is presently limited to the temples of Avantisvami, Martanda and Buniar only, showing that in Kashmir itself the form probably did not grow popular till quite late, unless the negative evidence is to be attributed to the disappearance of the ruins of vandalism.

The Kailasanatha temple (Rajasimhesvara) at Kanchipuram, of the 7th century, and the rock-cut Kailasa temple at Ellora of the 8th century A.D., share this feature, which later became common to all the temples in south India. The peristylar idea is clearly to be traced in this context to a very much earlier date.

With the coming in of Muslim rule in Kashmir, mosques came into existence in the valley. Structurally the mosques of Kashmir are the most unique in the sub-continent. They are in effect linear successors of the multiple-tiered or roofed temples, necessarily being made of wood, a lighter material which was required for attaining space on the floor for a large congregation and height for prominence and yet meeting the requirements enforced by climate with utmost economy, without sacrificing grace

¹This developmental culmination would but be natural. P. Brown has shown these features in his conjectural reconstruction of the temple of Avantisvamin (fig. 9 of text). (Brown, *op. cit.*, pl. CXXXVIII). This feature travelled to Panjab and to Himachal Pradesh. The Panjab example is provided by the ruins of the 9th century temple at Malot (Singhapura) (*ibid.*, pl. CXXXIX, fig. 2), as well as the remains of the Lakshana temple at Brahmor (Chamba, Himachal Pradesh, vide H. Goetz, *The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba*, Leiden, 1955, pl. II) and the features of two-roofed Kashmir temples carved in wood on the wooden lintel of the temple pointing to the original form of the temple despite its present merely suggestive profile (*ibid.*, pl. XI).

²Information from H. K. Narain, Superintending Archaeologist of the Archaeological Survey of India, Srinagar.

or elegance or even utility. A typical example is the Khanqa of Shah Hamadan,¹ built towards the end of the 14th century. The structural style attained is a large and tall hall built of wood, with the rafters being covered by planks of wood sealed at the top with birch-bark. The roof was made sloping with several overlapping layers or courses suggestive of the multiple roofs of the *piḍa* temples. The open square at the top of the roof is surmounted by vertical walls, each side being filled with trellis work, for light, and a stand for the muezzin to call the devoted to assemble for prayers at the appointed hours. The vertical part is again covered by a sloping roof, and it is finally surmounted by a long conical steeple topped by a series of three *kalasas* under an umbrella, recalling the *gajura* of the Nepalese temples. There is yet another point of similarity between the roofs of the Nepalese temples and roofs over the square hall of the Kashmir mosques. This is in the use of a thick layer of clay laid over the wooden roofs, which at once encouraged the growth of vegetation and held the soil together and served as the first line of nearly impervious defence against the rains and snowfall though the placement of the clay layer was reversed.

The preference of the newcomers for wood in the form of pillars, beams, lintels, rafters, purlins and covering planks to serve as the basic frame and armature as well as outer cover was obviously to solve the problems of achieving height without having to quarry stones or encounter the problem of hoisting heavy stones to a height and thus to exercise economy and to be practical in a terrain that was plentiful in the supply of timber. A gable-ended dormer window was also provided at the centre of each side of the topmost tier of the sharp supervening spire for light and ventilation. This is a phenomenon which is noticed also in the Kerala temples. These mosques, therefore, serve as examples of the adoption and adaptation of the established local idiom to serve the architectural needs of a different religion in contradistinction to the usual formula of domes and tall towers, *koṅguraṣ*, *guldastas*, etc. The earliest of these extant specimens anticipate the earliest of the Nepalese temples of the *devala* style by a head start of several years, even if the idea is to be traced to the mosques.

Furthermore, it may be considered that the spread of Lamaistic Buddhism in Leh and Ladakh, already established a life-line of contact, through Tibet, between Nepal

¹Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Islamic Period), Fifth Edition, 1965, p. 81, pl. LIX; Kak, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-79. Incidentally, it may be pointed out the *gompas*, i.e., monasteries, or temples of the Sherpas of Khumbu in Nepal are more akin to this style of architecture than to the Nepalese *devalas*, being built in three storeys so that such *gompas* provide accommodation for habitation, assembly and worship on the ground and first floors. But, for the history of the evolution of the multiple-roofed structures these *gompas* have no relevant significance, particularly because they are very late in emergence in the area. The first *gompa* was built at Pangboche about 1860, and the Sherpas had first settled in Khumbu between 1530 and 1600, and had gone again in two other successive stages. The form of the multiple-roofed aspect is no doubt to be traced partially to the Tibetan *gompas* going back to A.D. 800 and to the *devala* temples of Nepal (see Valerio Sestini and Enzo Somigli, *Sherpa Architecture*, Unesco 1978, pp. 19 & 50).

and Kashmir on the one side, alongside the contacts along the Himalayan belt ever since the times of Asoka, who is equally credited with founding the city of Śrinagarī (Kashmir), according to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, on the one hand and Lalitapaṭṭana (Patan) in Nepal on the other. In early mediaeval times Yasovarman of Kanauj who had led his troops into Bengal had a confrontation with Lalitaditya of Kashmir (8th century). Such widespread movement of men, materials and ideas were an index of the intensification of the traffic in men and materials and ideas between Nepal and India going back to the 3rd century B.C., i.e., the times of Asoka, also adduced by Kautilya's reference to the import of blankets (*naipālika*) from Nepal. According to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*¹ king Ananta of Kashmir claimed suzerainty over Chamba as late as (1050-60), though in the Chamba inscriptions, there is no reference to this matter, obviously because the claim may have been hyperbolic and at best tenuous. Nevertheless, it shows the expansiveness of men and materials from the secluded valley of Kashmir, across arduous passages into equally difficult terrains. These are only pointers to how the ideas may have moved from one part of the country to another, and the Siwalik or the Mahabharat ranges offered no barriers to the adventurous from the south, nor did the mighty Himalayas from the north, not to speak of the comparatively low lying valley slopes of the intermediate regions in between.

This is also reflected in the later bronzes and sculptures of Nepal, which bear a semblance of Kashmirian influence. In the premises of the Paśupati temple at Deopatan there is a loose sculpture of Lakulisa, now erected on a pedestal and is stylistically datable to the 10th century. The presence of the Vishnu-Vaikuntha sculptures of stone at Sikubahi, Patan and at Thimi, and datable to about the 14th century, if not still earlier, and the presence of Vishnu-Vaikuntha astride the Garuda in Kashmir as early as the 10th century in the style of Vishnu figures sitting astride *Garuda* obtaining in Bihar and Nepal (e.g., at Chāngu Narayana) indicate reliable proofs of cultural contacts being established at least as early as the 8th century and maintained thereafter.

The extent of influence that Kashmir may have exercised over the *stūpa* (*chaitya*) and temple architecture of Nepal would deserve some consideration in this context. Nepalese *chaityas* and the *devala* temples share one feature in common, namely, the multiplicity of the plinths on which the domical part of the *chaitya* on the one hand and the temple proper comprising the *garbhagriha* and the roof or roofs rests. Though the multiple platforms of the *stūpa-chaitya* go back to the middle of the 1st millennium

¹J.Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, I, Calcutta, 1911, p. 103. In this connexion mention may be made of the fact that Chamba was founded in the first half of the 10th century A.D., "Its earliest mention in literature occurs in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (VII, 218) in connection with the expedition of Anantadeva of Kashmir (A.D. 1028-1063)" (*ibid.*, p. 10). Similarly the name of Brahmapura is to be traced at the earliest to the inscriptions of the 10th century under the name of *Brahmapura* and *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* mentions it in the context of the campaign of the Kashmir king into the Chinab and Ravi valleys, under the name of *Brahmapurī* (*ibid.*, p. 7).

B.C. in India (e.g., Lauriya Nandangarh), the earliest *stūpas* in Nepal found in Patan (i.e., those attributed to Asoka) and Deopatan (the one attributed to Charumati at Chabahil) go back, if surmise should prove correct, to the 3rd century B.C. at the earliest. While the Lauriya Nandangarh *stūpa* has several terraces or plinths,¹ Nepal acquires the multiple plinths for the first time in the monolithic votive *stūpas* or *chaityas* during the rule of the Lichchavis, the earliest inscriptional record of whom goes back to A.D. 464, though they are believed to have moved into Nepal as early as the 2nd century A.D. Asoka's Nigali Sagar pillar makes a reference to the restoration of a *stūpa* of the previous Buddha Kanakamuni in the 15th year after his coronation indicating the tradition of a still earlier penetration. Nevertheless, since the *stūpa* itself has not been found it would be a futile exercise to conjecture its form.

The earliest historical *stūpa* with multiple plinths in the sub-continent was the now non-existent *stūpa* near Peshawar, built by Kanishka in the 1st-2nd centuries A.D.

The remains of the *stūpa* at Ushkura (Huvishkapur), built on a high pedestal and stated to have been constructed during the Kushana period, was restored or built over the earlier remains during the rule of Lalitaditya² in the 8th century. The shape of the *stūpa* in the monastic establishment at Harwan (*shādarhatvana*) is deduced, from the evidence of small terracotta relic plaques bearing miniature replicas, to have been raised over a three-tiered plinth with a flight of stairs on the western side. The dome was ovoid, and was surmounted by thirteen concentric rings in the form of an umbrella. The antiquity of the *stūpa* probably goes back to the Kushana times.³ The feature is also noticed in a terracotta votive *stūpa* stated to have been found at Srinagar⁴ with a *dhāranī* in the Gupta script on an incised surface at the square (5 cm.) base. While the square plinth is in two stages in this example, each stage is connected with the next higher and receding platform by means of a staircase placed medially along each cardinal side. The dome, the upper part of which is broken, appears to have been somewhat cylindrical. This feature became common to the *stūpas* in Kashmir presumably in the 3rd or 4th century. The plinth of the *stūpa* at Parihasapura (Paraspor), attributed to Lalitaditya in the 8th century A.D., was in two tiers and the remains of two ruined *stūpas* that had

¹The colossal *stūpa* at Lauriya Nandangarh has more than four terraces, of which the basal and two lower ones were polygonal, and the upper ones circular. The core of the *stūpa* too contained a three-terraced *stūpa*, built of bricks. The colossal *stūpa* could be dated after the 2nd century A.D. (D. Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, Calcutta, 1971, p. 85, photos. 41 & 48). The site awaits further excavation.

²D. Mitra, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-12.

³Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)*, p. 154; D. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

⁴It is now with T.N. Raina of Srinagar. Comparable specimens of terracotta from Harwan and the collections of Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar have been published. Similar terracotta votive *stūpas* were found in large number at Gilgit. Bronze prototypes have been reported from Nagapattinam (Tamilnadu), Kurkihar (Bihar) and Jaulian near Taxila (Pakistan).

been found at Pandrethan (*Puraṇādhīsthāna*) on the outskirts of Srinagar, now under the occupation of the Army, had this feature as deduced from the remains of staircases on the ruined site.¹ They are datable to the 8th century. That the Buddhist *stūpa* at Malangpur, District Anantanag, now reduced to its ground-plan, had more than one plinth is indicated by the evidence of stairs. The *stūpas* at Gilgit, dated to the 6th century A.D., had all a double basement, with hemispherical domes. The discovery of a large number of birch-bark manuscripts of Buddhist texts in Sanskrit such as *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Vinayapīṭaka*, and *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, etc. which is in keeping with a practice obtaining in Central Asia and Eastern Turkistan, indicates the extensive contacts that the Buddhists had established with these parts of the world at this early date, the potential of men for cultural contacts as a phenomenon in the dynamics of cultural change or expansion. This feature is also noticed at Lauriya Nandangarh in the 4th century A.D. The multiple plinth later became a feature of the temple architecture of Nepal as well as Kashmir.² The justification for the multiple form of the plinth occurring in the *Vishṇudharmottara* has already been shown. In the context of the examination of the problem, the influence of Kashmir on Nepal could have been received a fillip only after the 8th century, even as the influence of Bengal and Bihar could have commenced properly in the 7th century, the peak being reached during the hegemony of the Karnataka dynasty in Simraongarh between 1097 and 1325, establishing links with the rootlands in Karnataka and the adjoining territories of Kerala with potentialities for inspiration.

Whether or not the *chhatravālis* of *stūpas* transmitted the architectural feature or its religious symbolism cannot perhaps be determined, howsoever tempting it might be to seek a linear connexion between the two. But this point is not pressed.

14. CONCLUSION

(i) Preamble

Art is the quintessence of a nation's being, for it is the reflection of a people's soul in its varying moods. In its delicate and tender sensitivity it mirrors the vicissitudes of fortune, ebb and flow of political events, repercussions of social changes, reactions of religious upheavals, and reverberations of varying economy within the country. It is equally affected by factors of external disturbances especially in the neighbouring regions, particularly by incursions and military involvements.

¹Mitra, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

²The multiple-plinthed *stūpa* with a multiple-tiered crowning member over the supervening dome travelled in A.D. 100 to Tibet from the direction of Kashmir. In Tibet the dome of the *chörten* became oval and elongated and was crowned by a number of ring-shaped umbrellas surmounted by a crescent supporting a disc. While this form is derived from Tibet, there are four other types, two of which are of Indo-Nepalese origin. Nevertheless, they are rather late in point of emergence in the Khumbu valley, in Nepal, in keeping with the movement of the Sherpas themselves, from the 16th century onward. See Sestini and Somigli, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-43.

It is an expression by the creative genius of the inner cravings and desires and ennobled visions of life and its ideals and idols. It blooms and flowers spontaneously under the patronage of the ruling power, be it a crown or the masses. In essence, it knows no parochial political boundaries. It is ever prepared to receive fresh impulses from any source and transform and adapt them to its own needs and strength. In its turn, it imparts the lessons of the synthesis achieved to posterity. Thereby it rises still higher in stature and grows and it transcends space and time. In spite of the divergences and complications of its diction, imagery, idiom, symbolism, mysticism or the compulsions of an acceptedly prevalent code of norm of conduct, it lovingly strokes a chord in the heart and delicately touches a kindred soul. Above all it pleases and elevates the minds of all humanity and brings even widely separate peoples closer together. It also inculcates that the creative genius, which stands for the nobler values of life, flourishes in peace and plenty, but languishes quickly in dispute and withers in distress.

Nepal is no exception to these fundamental phenomena. And art, whether produced in Nepal or India, or in any other part of the world, belongs to the ages and to all humanity as the common and proud heritage of all mankind. It is only in a spirit of research into the roots and sources, confrontation and cross-fertilization of ideas, routes and courses and into the mutations and developments of forms and idioms and identification of ideational origins and structural results that we undertake to analyse art. In this undertaking the analysis is like the scientific dissection of a body beautiful. But the beatitude springing from the pure appreciation of art begins when the academic analysis ends and transcends the resistance of the substratum of the critical subconscious.

In so far as the art and architecture of Nepal are concerned, the Guptas of Magadha (*circa* 320-700) shared many aspects of their lives, namely, language, script, religion and art with the Lichchhavis of Nepal. Later on the Karnataka dynasty of Nanyadeva, founded in A.D. 1097 and lasting till A.D. 1325 wielded considerable influence upon Nepal, even in the fields of art. However, the intermediate and later periods was also filled by the influence flowing from the direction of Bengal and Bihar. Bengal and Bihar were first under the Palas (*circa* A.D. 750-1150) and later under the Senas (*circa* A.D. 1150-1280), and the traditions of art established by these two dynasties influenced Nepalese art in no small measure. The flow of artistic currents was, however, weakened by the Muslim occupation of Bihar and the greater part of Bengal about A.D. 1200.

Thereafter events simmered for a century and a half until the invasion of the Nepal valley by Shamsuddin Ilyas of Bengal in A.D. 1349. The cities of Bhaktapur, Patan and Kathmandu were looted and plundered for a period of seven days. It was at this time that many of the earlier works of art were destroyed or mutilated. Among the religious establishments sacked by Shamsuddin Ilyas and his bands of marauders was the temple of Paśupati, where the image was defiled and smashed.

The country suffered from the blow for long, but gradually re-built from the ruins. The disastrous effect of this event on the art treasures can be easily imagined. But Nepal was strengthened in her resolve to maintain the traditions of artistic creations as zealously as ever.

(ii) *A few Basic Factors*

To sum up, the following facts of history in regard to the subject under discussion may now be considered.

(a) There is a continued tradition of Asoka having laid the foundation of the city of Lalitpur (Patan). This could have happened in the 3rd century B.C. There may be some truth in this traditional belief owing to the indisputable fact of the evidence of Asoka's visit to Nepal, *i.e.*, Lumbini and Nigali Sagar in the terai, and of Asoka's accepted and accredited role in the popularization of Buddhism and the cult of the *stūpa* throughout the sub-continent.

(b) The above mentioned tradition is strengthened and re-inforced by the tradition of the association of five *stūpas* in Patan with Asoka. If the tradition is to be discarded at this late stage, it can be done if archaeological excavations into the ancient habitations as well as at the five *stūpas* attributed to Asoka by hoary tradition yield negative results or fail to corroborate the tradition itself.

(c) That the *Kiratas* probably were the first dwellers and rulers of the land is generally believed¹. The mound of Kailasa in Mrigasthali, opposite to the Paśupati temple in Deopatan, and Patukodon in Patan, besides a few sculptures, of doubtful association with the *Kiratas*, have often been cited as evidence of the *Kirata* rule. This is not evidence enough to clinch the issue. Regardless of the truth of the tradition, the fact that the so-called *Kiratas*, of unestablished identity and of supposedly indigenous origin, did not substantially shape or influence the cultural profile of Nepal will not be denied unless archaeology comes to their rescue.

(d) When the curtain of tangible history finally rises on the central Nepalese territory, we find that the Lichchhavis are entrenched firmly in place of the so-called Mallas who had almost disappeared during the interregnum and that they were perhaps on the flight and a lost force. The Lichchavis must, therefore, have hailed *en masse* and in strength from the direction of Vaisali, their traditional homeland from at least the days of the Buddha, with their language, script, life-style and cultural values. That these became foundational is clear from their long rule of several centuries and their numerous inscriptional records at the very dawn of Nepalese history.²

¹Regmi (*Ancient Nepal*, Third Edition, 1969, p. 21) says that the *Kiratas* dwelt in Nepal from about 600 B.C.

²*Ibid.*, p. 29. The arrival of the Lichchhavis into Nepal is attributed by Regmi to the 1st-2nd centuries A.D.

(e) That the Mallas had not been eliminated or extirpated but continued to retain and cherish some of their cultural values, including the language, and had only suffered a temporary discomfiture and eclipse, and rose again after the eclipse of the Lichchhavis is established by the glorious history of the Mallas from A.D. 1200 to 1768. This is also indicated by the survival of numerous place names in the Lichchhavi inscriptions like *Mātiṅgrāma*, *Jolpiṅgrāma* etc.

(f) That the basic religious beliefs of the Nepalese people, namely, Brahmanical Hinduism and Buddhism were imbibed from elsewhere has not so far been disputed or disproved, even though indigenous practices of demonolatry flourished under the tolerant indulgence of the new rulers in a subdued role side by side. However, Nepal, never allowed Jainism, Islam or Christianity or any other faith, for that matter, to strike roots in the soil and these attitudes formed the new basis of the cultural and religious life of Nepal.

(g) That the script of the Lichchhavi inscriptions was none other than the Gupta script is an accepted fact. The incipient and developmental stages of the script, which are to be seen in India under the Mauryas, Sungas and Kushanas, in succession, are not so far available in Nepal, except very limitedly in the terai, and point to the truth about its emergence in a developed form on the Nepalese soil, apparently transplanted from a neighbouring region.

(h) Why the coexisting Gupta era was not used in Nepal, and why the Saka era, also of origin elsewhere, was used instead is not easily explicable, except perhaps for the predominance of the Saka element among the Lichchhavi immigrants, who are believed to have come into Nepal about 1st-2nd centuries A.D.¹ or the preference for something different in their new homeland.

(i) Though the earliest dated inscriptional record of the Lichchhavis is dated to A.D. 464, (*samvat* 386), it is to be observed that the era used by them had been allegedly introduced by Kanishka in A.D. 78. If the Lichchhavis had settled down in the valley as early as that date or even earlier as has been stated, it is not understood as to why they did not evolve any writing or continue the tradition with which they must have been familiar in India. The fact is explained by the evidence of the author's excavations at Dhumvarahi on the outskirts of Kathmandu which did not push back the antiquity of the habitations to earlier than the earliest date of the Lichchhavi inscriptions (*i.e.*, *circa* 5th century A.D.), as well as the still earlier excavations at Hadigaon and Lajimpat in Kathmandu by S.B.Deo².

(j) In this context, the rationale of the Tibetan king Tsrön-tsan-gampo having sent Sambhota to the centres of learning in India, for his own education as well as for

¹Regmi, *ibid.*, p. 29.

²S.B. Deo, *Archaeological Excavations at Kathmandu*, 1965, Kathmandu 1968, p. 6 and remarks in the Foreword by Ramesh Jung Thapa.

bringing back the basic elements of a script that could be adapted to the Tibetan sound system, but not to Nepal, through which his route must have lain, and which, at any rate was closer and contiguous, is easily understood. It can be set down to their predilection for the roots, as recognized even then.

(k) Apart from the language of the inscriptions, the common existence of the imprecatory verses in the Lichchavi and Gupta inscriptions pronouncing curse upon all who tampered with endowments or with religious edifices is to be traced to a common source. For instance, the earliest occurrence of imprecatory verses, in India is in the Sanchi stone inscription of Chandragupta II of the year 93 (*i.e.*, A.D. 412) and is quoted below¹ for consideration.

The similarity of the text occurring in the Dhanaidaha copper plate inscription² of the time of Kumaragupta I dated 113 Gupta era, *i.e.*, A.D. 432-33, with the Thankot Adinarayana temple stone slab inscription³ of Vasantadeva, dated 428 Saka era, *i.e.*, A.D. 506 is arresting and telltale. The source of inspiration here, as already pointed out, is the *Mahābhārata*. Several other absolute parallels in later times from both the regions with the obvious source of inspiration, namely, the *Mahābhārata*, can be cited.

¹The Sanchi Stone Inscription of Chandragupta II of the year 93 (A.D. 412) has the following relevant text, see Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 282, and also foot note no. 1 thereunder :

Line 10 : *Tadatatpravrittāṃ cha uchchhindyātsa go-brahma-hatyayā saṃyukto bhavet pañchabhishchān-*
Line 11 : *antairyīti...*

This is especially applicable to the Buddhists, because the reference is to the incurring of five sins for tampering with the endowment for the feeding of the five Bhikshus every day and for the lighting of a lamp in the Ratnagriha. Sircar draws our attention (*ibid.*, p. 70, foot note no. 8) to a sixth sin, namely, *saṅghabhedo*, meaning disruption of an order of monks. Thus this imprecation is apparently by implication of Buddhist inspiration and of much earlier date than the one obtaining in the *Mahābhārata* (considering the earliest recognized date of the texts) which was adopted first by the Guptas and later by the Lichchavis in the 5th century A.D.

²*Ibid.*, p. 289. The relevant part of the inscription is quoted below :

Line 14...(U) *ktamcha bhagavatā dvaipāyanena (I) svadattāṃ paradaāttmā*

Line 15...*yo haret vasuṇḍharām (I) (sa vishṭhāyām krimirbhūtvā pūtri)bhīḥ saha pachyate (II)*
sashṭhīm varsha-sahasrāṇi (ni) svargge modati (bhū) midah (I)

Line 16...*ākshēptā chānumantā cha tānyeva narake vaset II (pū) rrvadattāṃ dvijātibhyoḥ yatnādraksha*
Yudhisthira (I) mahīm (mahī) (matāñchhreshṭha)

Line 17...(dānachchhreyo anupālanam) (II)

³See D. Bajracharya, *Lichchavi Kālka Abhilekha*, Kathmandu, 2030 V.S. (A.D. 1973), pp. 91-2. The relevant part of the inscription reads as follows :

Line 27...*rhanti yatkarāṇaṃ bahubhīrasudhā bhuktā rājabhīḥ Sagarādibhīryasya yasya*

Line 28...*yadā bhūmistasya tasya tadā phalaṃ svadattāṃ paradaāttmā yo haret vasuṇḍha*

Line 29...*rām (I) sa vishṭhāyām krimirbhūtvā narakeshu prapadyata....*

The words, *ākshēptā chānumantā cha tāvanti narake vaset* occur in the 29th line of the Changu Narayana stone slab inscription of Sivadeva-Amsuvarman (*ibid.*, p. 234). The subject has been discussed earlier.

(1) It is interesting to compare the following lines occurring in Manadeva's Changu Narayana stone pillar inscription of the year (*samvat* 386) A.D. 464 with similar lines occurring in the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta of the period A.D. 455-67. In both there is a reference to the death of the father, and approach to the widowed mother, and also a victory won in a recently fought battle. The relevant passages are quoted below, only to indicate the probable and plausible source of inspiration of the later composition.

The Bhitari pillar inscription which is apparently earlier in date¹ refers to the great turmoil of enemies that threatened the solidarity of the dynasty being won over in the following words :

Line 10 : *Vichalita-kula-lakshmī-stambhāyodyatena kshititalaśayanīye-yena nītā trīyāmā* (/) *samu-*

Line 11 : *ditaḥ balakoshāt Pushya-mitrāṇścha* (ji) *tvā kshitipa-charaṇa-pīṭhe sthāpīto vāma-pādaḥ* (//)

The Changu Narayana inscription has the following comparable lines :

Line 63 : *Prāyāt pūrvapathena tatra cha śatha ye pūrvadeśāśrayāḥ*

Line 64 : *sāmantāḥ praṇipāta-bandhura-śiraḥ prabhrashtamaulīśrajāḥ* (/)

Line 65 : *tānājñā-vaśa-varttinoh narapatīḥ saṁsthāpya tasmātpunaḥ* (nar)

Line 66 : *nirbhīḥ śimha evākulotkaṭā-sata-paschādbhuvāṇjagmivān* (//)

The Bhitari inscription narrates how the king approaches his widowed mother as though Krishna was approaching Devaki and announces the victory over the enemy in the following words :

Line 12 : *pītari divamupe* (te)¹

Line 13 : *viplutaṁ vaṁśa-lakshmī bhuja-bala-vijitāriryayāḥ pratisthāpya bhūyāḥ jītamiti paritoshānmātaraṁ sāśra-netrāṁ hata-ripu-riva Kṛṣṇo Devakīmābhyupe* (ta)ḥ (//).

The Changu Narayana inscription comparably shows the widowed queen mother, Rajyavatī telling her son, Manadeva, the new king, of her resolve to immolate herself in the following words :

Line 31 : *pratyāgatya sa-gadgadāksharamidandīrghaṁ viniśvasya cha*

Line 32 : *preṇṇā putramuvācha sāśruvanā yātaḥ pitā te divam* (/)

¹The reference to the father's ascending the heaven in the Bhitari inscription would only indicate that it was nearer to A.D. 454 and at least more than a decade earlier than the Changu Narayana inscription of Manadeva of the year A.D. 464.

Line 33 : *hā putrāstamite tavādya pitari prāṇairvrithā kimmama*

Line 34 : *rājyam putraka kārayāhamanuyāmyadyaiva bhartturgatim (//)*

While in the Bhitari inscription the new king is compared to Krishna and the queen mother to Devaki, in the Changu Narayana inscription the queen mother Rajyavati is compared to Lakshmi and the departed father Dharmadeva to Vishnu. The parallelisms are striking and cannot be held as merely accidental.

However tempting it might appear, any effort to identify a prince called Bharavi, daughter's son (*duhitussunu*) of Manadeva described in the Hadigaon stone slab inscription¹ of Saka era 472 (i.e., A.D. 550) even remotely with Bharavi the great poet

¹The inscription refers to the construction of a *dhārā* (*dhūṅge-dhārā*) by Bharavi. Except the near contemporaneity of this Bharavi with Bharavi the poet and composer of *Kirātārjunīyam* there is no evidence in support of any identification between the two (see Bajracharya, *Lichchavi Kālkā Abhilekha*, pp. 179-180). Incidentally and significantly it may be mentioned that Bajracharya has brought home the existence of the influence of Kalidasa's poetic style and imagery on the composition of the inscription.

The 6th century narrative scenes from Naghaltal and Kaṅkeśvarī tentatively identified by the author, are clear picturization of the older Puranic story of *Kumārasambhava* as adopted by Kalidasa, again pointing to the roots of cultural influx.

P. Pal (*The Arts of Nepal*, Vol. One, pp. 147-50) does not agree with the author's suggested identification of the *Kumārasambhava* panels. He attributes the author's suggestion to misinterpretation of the concerned passages of the *Kumārasambhava*, and also doubts the author's tentative dating of Kalidasa to the 4th century A.D.

While the author is prepared to concede that his interpretation is not the last word on the subject, he would welcome any other account if advanced with convincing evidence and arguments, which, alas, are not forthcoming !

As regards the prevalence and popularity of the practice of depicting narrative secular scenes from literature in the form of visual scenes, and, particularly, the theme of *Kumārasambhava* itself, which cannot be described as secular, but at best mythological, on temple walls, or in religious buildings, for that matter, reference may be made to the author's article on 'An Unidentified Sculptural Panel at Musée Guimet, Paris,' *Arts Asiatiques*, vol. X, 1964.

The panel in question from Campuchea (formerly Cambodia or Mon-Khmer Republic) described by the author reflects synoptically and in a tabloid form a series of scenes from the *Kumārasambhava* suggesting a parallel with the Naghaltol scenes. A comparable scene from Ellora and several scenes of one of the intermediate stages of the marriage of Siva, such as those on the architraves of the fort or city gateway at Rewa, Madhya Pradesh; at Kanauj, Uttar Pradesh; Elephanta, Maharashtra and elsewhere, or of the departure of the bridal couple enshrined in the Chausanth Yogini temple at Bheraghat, near Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh, and called Varesvara, point strongly to the probability of the author's identification.

It is of course true that different versions of the story occur in several *Purāṇas* and not merely in the *Matsya Purāṇa* or *Śiva Purāṇa* cited by Pal, and the author hopes some day to give a fuller account of the story by using all the available accounts. As to the lingering doubts about the date of Kalidasa, reference may be made to the interpretation of the archaeological data bearing on the subject in the author's paper on 'The Excavations at Ujjain', *Indologon Tagung* 1959, Goettingen, 1960, pp. 74-86, as well as to his forthcoming contribution on 'Ujjayinī and Kālidāsa : An

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Analysis of the Archaeological Data', to be published in the *M. N. Deshpande Felicitation Volume* (in press).

As regards the use of narrative panels of secular or mythological subjects on the walls of temples or religious edifices, for that matter, mention may be made of the scenes of daily life, *Jātakas* or historical scenes such as the war of the relics (of the Buddha) on the architraves of the gateways of the Sanchi *stūpa*, obviously for the edification, and to compel the reverence, of the on-lookers and devotees. There are also numerous narrative scenes on the body of the *stūpa* at Amaravati dealing with the life of the Buddha, such as the taming of Nalagiri, or the prophecy of his future by the venerable sage Asita, {or the scenes of daily avocation such as quarrying of stones, or transporting them, or coitus in a wide variety of ways (certainly not religious subjects) on the walls of the temples at Khajuraho, or the scenes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, say from the stone-built Krishna temple (A.D. 1637) and the scenes of the progressive confrontation between Hiranyakasipu and Prahlada on the *ṭunāls* of the Krishna temple at Swathatol, both in Patan (Nepal). That the idea of associating secular or mythological scenes with religious establishments was not abhorrent to the artists or sculptors is borne out also by the occurrence of numerous painted scenes, both secular and religious, inside temples (e.g., the Brihadisvara temple at Thanjavur, Tamil Nadu), and monasteries and cave temples at Ajanta, (Maharashtra). The exquisite scenes of a danseuse accompanied by a group of symmetrically arranged female musicians inside a cave temple at Aurangabad (7th century A.D.), Maharashtra or the scenes of dance and music accompanying the procession of the transport of the corporeal relics of the Buddha at Bharhut (2nd century B.C.) (Madhya Pradesh), are not strictly religious subjects, and yet they are part of religious edifices. The *Jātaka* scenes, sculptured or painted, in religious establishments which occur in plenty are not religious scenes though they have a moral or allegorical import.

Probably what Pal has in mind is in regard to the permissibility of portraying so-called secular works as distinguished from non-canonical but religio-mythological-cum-historical scenes. But the distinction between the secular works like the *Kumārasambhava* or *Raghuvamśam* and their non-canonical mythological sources is so thin that a real distinction is not practicable. Space forbids a fuller discussion of the interesting but disputable proposition.

As to Pal's objection to the author's use or attribution of erotic imagery to the so-called bed-chamber scene from Kañkeśvarī (Nepal), it may be pointed out that Kalidasa's reverential description of Parvati (*Jaganmātā* or the Mother Goddess *par excellence*) is couched in the most erotic language that a poet's imagination can produce for vivid delineation by Kalidasa himself in the same work. That the same phenomenon applies with greater force to the poetic description of the divine love of Radha and Krishna in the form of scenes of amorous intimacies of the most uninhibited kind in Jayadeva's *Gīta Govinda*, which occupies a highly reverential place in Vaishnava religious literature, and which had succeeded in driving Sri Chaitanya into ecstatic trance has only to be pointed out. These themes are also depicted before mixed audiences of all ages and climes, uninhibitedly, in dance (Kuchipudi, Bharata Natyam or Odissi) and are not found objectionable ! But in subjective sublimation such scenes are to be contemplated upon as instances of extreme devotion and as totally devoid of any carnal aspect.

Perhaps by his own standards Pal would have none of the very nude *yakshīs* on the gateways of Sanchi (1st century B.C.), or the *mithunas* on the temples of Khajuraho, Konarak, Puri or Bhubaneswar or would not consider the *Yab-Yum* figures as religious in import or use and hesitate to accept their use in religion or on religious architecture.

The same duality of standards should perhaps apply to the patently erotic scenes (sometimes very uncouth, promiscuous, and involving both the animal male and the human female) on the

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temples of Konarak, Puri, Bhubaneswar (in Orissa), or in the context of Nepal, on the temple of Jagannatha, Kumāri Ghar and the palace of Basantapur Durbar, respectively, at Kathmandu (at the Durbar Square). Reference may be made in this context to G. Tucci's laboured interpretation and idealization of an otherwise lurid theme portrayed on the *ṭuṇāls* at Basantapur despite their labelling as coital postures (*śṛīṅgarā*), thrown open to public gaze, in his *Ratilila*. The factual position is too well known to need any further emphasis.

However, collaterally there seems to exist a close connexion between the adaptation of the horizontal *pīḍa* courses of the *jagmohans* of Orissan temples in the comparable Nepalese temples as an ideational follow-up and culmination and their common free-play to the erotic theme built on the basis of a still earlier cue obtaining at Khajuraho in gay abandon. There is also chronological compatibility for the phenomenon to have actually taken place, as well as ample time-lag needed for the dissemination of apparently forward or bold, if not shocking, ideas over such divergent areas of *Bhāratavarsha* conceived of as within the bounds of *Jamvūdvīpa*, as then Nepal certainly was, as *Nepāla maṇḍala* (as the refrain cited earlier, e.g., *Jamvūdvīpe subhāratavarshē Himavatdakṣiṇapāde Vāsuki-kshetre Nepāla maṇḍale* etc.) establishes.

Incidentally, it is tempting also to establish a possible, plausible and practicable cultural connexion between the *Purushottama* (*Vishnu*)-*kshetra* of Orissa and the *Vāsuki-kshetra* of Nepal in the context of what has been stated above.

Pal has rightly stated and it is indeed true that considerable difference of opinion exists on the date of Kalidasa. In any case it is earlier than the date of the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II, dated A.D. 634 (vide *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI). Regardless of the anachronistic co-occurrence of the names of nine persons (including that of Kalidasa) of different times in the context of their being the nine court jewels of one king, namely, Vikramaditya, the theory of his association with the Gupta king Chandragupta II (Vikramaditya) gains ground, in the context of what has been stated about the narrative affiliations of the Naghatal sculptures with the sculpture of the Gupta or Vakataka Yaksha from Khoh (now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay).

The Vakataka sculpture of Siva-Vamana from Mansar (National Museum, New Delhi), of the 5th century, and the Yakshas on the facade of cave No. 19 at Ajanta are similarly dated. In this connexion the rotundity of the face, the thickness of the lips and the general stockiness of the figure, and the tassel-like locks of hair of the Kaṅkeśvarī figure of Siva bear striking similarity with the Gupta-Vakataka figures.

It cannot be vouched that any of the sculptures of the early period in Nepal bear any distinct local or indigenous stamp. The locks of hair of the Aryaghat figure of Virupaksha is of mature Gupta phase and datable to the 6th century A.D. The Chapatol Buddha, the Chabahil Buddha and the Ramshah Path Nepal Law House Buddha have strong links with comparable figures from Sarnath but are characteristically much less refined and sophisticated than either the preaching Buddha (Sarnath Museum) or Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara (National Museum, New Delhi) and the seated figure of the Buddha in the composite panel of the scenes from the life of the Buddha (National Museum, New Delhi), all dated to the 5th century A.D., or the Bodhisattva or Vishnu figure from the Satya Narayana temple, Hadigaon, Nepal, comparable with the 5th century Vishnu from Mathura (now in the National Museum, New Delhi). The Dhumvarahi Varaha (Nepal) is apparently later than the Udayagiri (Madhya Pradesh, Varaha, but earlier than the climactic period of Sarnath.

The earliest dated landmark in sculptural art in Nepal is the Lajimpat image of Vishnu-vikrantamurti, but it is so far worn out that it is useless for dating purposes. Its later Tilganga version is dated by Professor Kramrisch to the 7th century, and so is the Kaliyamardana from

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of south India referred to as such in the Aihole inscription of Pulakesi II¹ and whose great work *Kirātārjunīyam* has inspired an enormous *bas relief* sculpture at Mahabali-

Basantapur. The Hadigaon Satya Narayana temple *Garuḍa*, and the Changu Narayana *Garuḍa* are comparable and should, therefore, both be dated to the 7th century A.D.

But by this time the idealistic 5th century image of Sarnath had been left behind, and later art seldom rose to the older aesthetic heights. Against this evidence is to be pitted the evidence of the inscribed Bodhisattva of the time of Narendradeva at Lagantol Gairidhārā near Bagh Durbar, Kathmandu and the damaged figure of Uma-Mahesvara at Sikubahi (discovered by B.K. Rijal) as are other landmarks in the early sculptural art of Nepal. But in the former case it is not certain if the inscribed pedestal and sculpture are of the same period. There is no dating value in the Sikubahi sculpture in view of its decayed condition. But the striking similarity of the features of the inscribed sculpture of Brahma from Chapagaon and the *ekamukha liṅga* from Mrigasthali with its striking resemblance with the *ekamukha liṅga* from Deogarh, now in the National Museum, New Delhi, a date between the 5th and 7th centuries has to be assigned to the Naghaltol and Kañkeśvarī sculptures of the *Kumārasambhava* theme, though the author had suggested earlier (1968) a date of 5th-6th centuries for them and not 3rd-4th centuries, as mentioned by Pal. The considerations in suggesting these dates are the time-lag between the best period in Sarnath and the best period in Nepal, represented by these sculptures, considering the obvious source of ideational inspiration and the directional trend, besides stylistic differences and the course of development.

Furthermore, though narrative themes in sculpture occur later also, they become less popular and develop a tendency to become epigrammatic cult images as time passes. Except for the epigrammatic Uma-Mahesvara, Lakshmi-Narayana, Vishnu-vikrantamurti, Kaliyamardana, Vaikuntha-Vishnu or Vishnu-Visvarupa (very rare), narrative sculptures are generally or almost totally absent in Nepal from the 9th century onward with a few exceptions.

Considering the fact of the religio-cultural importance of Varanasi to the people of Nepal, implying a regular two-way traffic of pilgrims, tradesmen (craftsmen included) and the general public between Varanasi and Nepal from the earliest days (atleast since the days of the Lichchavis of Nepal) and the importance of the Sarnath (Varanasi) School of art, a time gap of 50 years at the outside may suffice for the sculptural style of Sarnath to travel and leave its distinctive mark in Kathmandu.

On the basis of these considerations, a date in the middle of the 6th century A.D. would appear appropriate for the sculptures of the *Kumārasambhava* group. The author would leave it at that, as the best that could be offered in the present state of knowledge, particularly, also because no one can become dogmatic about such enigmatic matters. This is in view of the possibility of the phenomenon of artistic styles being either dynamic and susceptible to the slightest winds of change in fashion, or remaining static in a state of suspended animation. The reported discovery of a large haul of sculptures at Changu Narayana may, however, revolutionize existing theories.

The matter was discussed such length only because sculpture and architecture were inseparable in their mobility along the vertical time-scale and horizontal space-scale, and the accurate dating of sculptures would have a bearing on architecture as well, for sculptures other than those placed in the open-air *dhārās* were meant to be installed in shrines or associated with them as veneer slabs as in the case of the Naghaltol and Kañkeśvarī panels. We are only not sure of the shape of the shrines in the absence of any positive evidence, architectural or inscriptional.

¹Kielhorn, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 3. It is interesting to record that this inscription refers to Kalidasa and Bharavi together. Incidentally, it may be pointed out that Dhanavajra Bajracharya in his commentary on the Hadigaon inscription referred to earlier notices the impress of Kalidasa's poesy on the various inscriptional records (Bajracharya, *op. cit.*, p. 180) of Nepal.

puram would not carry conviction. While there is no evidence to connect the two, any such identification can only be held as highly conjectural, and, therefore, insignificant in the context of the discussion unless it is imagined that Bharavi¹ left Nepal and settled in India and settled down to literary work. But clearly evidence is lacking to justify such a conclusion.

(m) The evidence of Dhiman and Bitpalo² flourishing during the reigns of Devapala and Dharmapala in Bengal and producing many works of art in metal is significant in this context.

(n) The absence (or paucity) of metals in Nepal for the manufacture of sculpture or for use in architecture, and her dependence on her southern neighbour is yet another factor to reckon with.

(o) The influence of the Palas on the sculptural art of Nepal from the 8th and 9th centuries onwards,³ and the preponderance of the influence of the art of the Karnataka

¹Bharavi is mentioned again in the Mangalbazar (Patan) Bhimasena temple *dhārā* stone inscription of the year 492 Saka era (i.e., A.D. 570) (Bajracharya, *ibid.*, pp. 208-9. It also refers to the creation of a *dhārā* for the sake of the piety of the parents.

²The names of these two metal casters are mentioned in Taranatha's *History of Buddhism in India*. The relevant passage is quoted below (p. 348 of 1970 edition, Simla) : "During the time of king Devapala and Sri Dharmapala, there lived a highly skilled artist called Dhiman in the Varendra region. His son was called Bitpalo. These two followed the tradition of the Naga artists and practised various techniques like those of metal-casting, engraving and painting. The tradition of the technique of the father became different from that of the son. The son used to live in Bhamgala. The cast-images made by the followers of both of them were called the eastern icons, wherever these followers might have been born.

In painting, the tradition of those that followed the father was called the tradition of eastern paintings, while those who followed the son were known as belonging to the school of the madhyadesa painting, because this was widespread mainly in Magadha.

In Nepal also the earlier tradition of art was similar to the old western (style of Indian art). The paintings and bell-metal castings (of Nepal) of the middle period are said to belong to the Nepalese school, though these resemble the eastern (Indian art).

No distinct (tradition) is found (in Nepal) in the later period."

³The Vishnu figure published by Pal, as fig. 110 in his book on the *Vaishnava Iconology in Nepal* (Calcutta, 1970), still shows the strong Pala style; but the figure of Sarasvati at the temple of Mahakala (*ibid.*, fig. 85) is already showing the introduction of local Nepalese influence. In fact, the prominence of the Pala influence on Nepalese art is apparent in all the sculptures upto the 13th century as also indicated by the figures published by Pal in *Nepal Where the Gods are Young* and the more comprehensive account in the *Arts of Nepal* (Sculpture). The 13th-14th centuries mark a transitional period, for the obvious facts of history, the differences becoming apparent in the 14th century and becoming still more divergent and pronounced as time advances. This phenomenon did not remain an isolated event, but became endemic for all other activities in Nepal, including architecture. The reasons, which are not far to seek, have been adduced in general terms in the preamble of this section. This point has also been brought out in the author's own paper on 'A Note on the Iconography of Umā-Maheśvara in Nepal' (vide Select Bibliography).

dynasty which merged itself with the ruling Malla family in the 14th century leading to the emergence of a new style of sculpture, are worthy of consideration in this respect. In fact, from the 14th century on, when the Indian source nearly dried up, Nepal depended very much on herself, as the sculptures, beginning with the Paśupati image (pl. LXX) show the distinct stamp of purely Nepalese hand. This is exemplified by several other sculptures of the later period such as the figures of Bhairava and at Kathmandu (pl. CVIII) and at Swayambhūnātha (pl. CVIII) set up by Pratapamalla in the 17th century, and that of Hari-Śaṅkara set up by Bhupatindramalla in the Palace at Malatichok, Bhaktapur, towards the end of the 17th century.

(p) But the use of the multiple-roofs for the ancillary structures, in axial line, of the 12th century Baijnath temple, District Kangra, Himachal Pradesh (pl. CV) in a region not far from Nepal points to the prior existence of this form in a contiguous region, which is seen in all the earlier Orissan temples also, and are seen elsewhere as already discussed in detail.

(q) The late emergence of the Nepalese language has already been adverted to. The continuance of the use of Sanskrit by the Malla kings in all their inscriptions upto their discomfiture at the hands of the Shahs in 1768, and the occasional adoption of Maithili and Nepalese, and according a comparatively minor role to their own tongue, Newari, is a tribute at once at once to their catholicity of outlook and to their respect and regard for their cultural roots. The same spirit underlies the pride of place and respect accorded to the Brahmin priests of Indian origin for service at the Paśupati temple, which practice continues unabated to this day from the days of Yakshamalla.

(iii) *The Method of Construction and other Components of Nepalese Temples*

The method of construction adopted for the temples of both the styles would deserve some consideration, being Nepal's very own. While the foundation¹ is built into the ground with a series of widening footings in keeping with the supervening load it was expected to carry, the top of the plinth is surmounted first by a frame of wooden pillars at the four corners cantoned with the beams, either as a rectangle or a square.

¹Wolfgang Korn has made a substantial contribution to the study on the subject in his *Traditional Architecture of the Kathmandu Valley*, Kathmandu, 1979.

As regards the foundation, Korn observes that the foundation (*op. cit.*, p. 104, fig. 55) under the ground which is built of layers of pebbles or broken fragments of stone is never deeper than 60-80 cm. To obtain a realistic answer to the question of the nature of the foundations it would be desirable to excavate a section across the foundations of some major structures before any generalization can be made. Korn has, however, struck the right note when he says that the nature of the foundations of the Nyatapola at Bhaktapur or of the Taleju temple at Kathmandu, which incidentally has 12 shallow plinths, is not yet known. The plan and elevation of the typical multiple-storied temple are illustrated in figs. 42 a, b and c (Char-Narayan, 16th century) and 43 a, b and c (Maju Dega, 17th century). The plan and elevation of a typical Buddhist *vihāra* is illustrated in figs. 17 a and d (Chhushyā *vihāra*, 17th century). A typical circular temple is the Agama Devata temple at Hanuman Dhoka with five roofs. The nature of its foundation is not known.

The interspaces are built up with brick walling with mud mortar. Additional cross-beams connecting the walls hold the structure together. The next level of the temple chamber is of smaller size built over beams fixed along the edges, till the desired number of storeys is reached. Either the supervening beams or a lower course of additional beams are used to fix the brackets or *tūnals* with tenon ends, the upper ends being fixed to the corresponding rafters of the sloping and overhanging roof. The four corner *tūnals* are larger than the rest and are usually in the shape of a rampant lion and are each flanked by a *tūnāl*. The rafters and purlins are anchored to the upper beams. The topmost part of the structure is flat and carries a beam to support the base of the *kalasa* finial. Sometimes a passage is created all around the chamber at one or more levels with the help of projecting beams, and the outer edge in such cases is walled with trellis work windows. Usually the upper stages are sealed off at the top by a wooden ceiling, with provision for hinged trap doors for access to the floor above. The hollow column of the entire structure is held together by cross-beams.

In the case of ridged roofs, the ridge at the top is supported on a series of low vertical wooden posts, themselves resting on cross-beams or rafters. In the case of a square structure, such as a temple, the rafters converge on a vertical post at the top supported on a cross-beam. This vertical post protrudes upwards beyond the roof and supports the *stūpa*-like pinnacle which completely covers it and upon which rests the complex of the *kalasa*, *vijapūraka* and the *gajura* of *chhatras*.

Typical roofs are illustrated in fig. 60 of Korn's book referred to above. The method followed in the Kerala temples appears to be similar as there too the rafters are anchored to a ridge-beam in the case of a rectangular structure such as a *mukhamandapa* or an apsidal temple and to a post in the case of a circular or square temple. An apsidal temple with a ridged roof in Sarkar's book, *op.cit.*, indicates the position obtaining in Kerala. The roof overhang the vertical walls as in Nepal. There are struts to lend additional support to the eaves. The superstructure is further supported in Kerala on vertical posts as in Nepal. See fig. 39 (circular temple); fig. 42 (a square shrine with a rectangular *mandapa*); and fig. 51. in *Architectural Survey of Temples in Kerala*, 1978 by Sarkar.

Sometimes there is a pillared passage around the central structure even at the base. The Bhimasena temple d. 802 N.S. (A.D. 1681) at the eastern end of the Durbar Square at Patan is a rectangular temple where the *sanctum* is on the first floor and is reached by a staircase. Some are provided with a ramp over which even buffaloes can be led up for sacrificial purposes. The image deified and enshrined in the Bhimasena temple is a figure of Bhima in the act of punishing Kichaka for his evil designs on Draupa di (a secular theme).

The wooden overdoor at the entrance with elaborate carvings, including the inevitable *pūrṇakumbha* segment, the lateral inserts with decorative designs and human figures fixed symmetrically and the invariable compliment of the eight auspicious symbols, divided into two groups of four in each, with the figure of the sun riding a

chariot drawn by seven horses and the figure of moon in a chariot drawn by swans or elephants leading each group, respectively, form a distinctive feature on either side of the entrance. The eight auspicious symbols comprise the : (i) *śaṅkha* (conch); (ii) *chakra* (discus); (iii) *pūrṇaghata*; (iv) *chhatra* (the royal umbrella); (v) *pāśa* (noose), (vi) *matsyamithuna* (a pair of fish); (vii) *padma* (lotus), and the (viii) *yantra* (representing a Tantric *maṇḍala*) and sometimes a pair of flywhisks (*chāmaras*).

The entrance proper is surmounted by a carved tympanum of wood or of gilt metal, (pls. XXII & XXIII) in *repoussé* with a conical crown of a row of umbrellas (*chhatrāvali*). The triangular tympanum, called *toraṇa* in local *parlance*, poised over the entrance door is the most unique contribution of Nepal, and consists of a complex of figures headed by a *kīrtimukha* from whose mouth issues two serpents, with two floral blobs representing the sun and moon, on either side of the *kīrtimukha*. The central space is occupied by an iconographical representation of the deity intended to be enshrined, doing service for the *lalāṭabimba* of the Indian temples. The central figure is flanked and surrounded by other attendant figures. The *torāṇa* itself, which is slightly convex in outline on its two sides, has at each of the corner bases a *makara* head. It symbolizes the five basic elements of the sun, earth, air, space, fire and water.

Besides these elements of woodwork, the trellis work windows (pls. XI-XIV in the shape of the lotus or peacock etc., as have already been mentioned earlier, and the oblong complex of windows and balcony provided to residential complexes and opening on to the streets below are also distinctively Nepalese.

Nevertheless, it is also to be noted, notwithstanding the plentiful supply of wood in Nepal, that the wooden umbrella-like protective contraptions added to the stone *śikhara*s of the temples in the heavy rainfall zone of the Himalayan belt stretching from Kangra and Kulu to Almora is entirely absent from the *śikhara* shrines of Nepal, which, therefore, present a sharp contrast to their multiple-roofed companions standing in close juxtaposition. Furthermore, there is no extant *śikhara* shrine in Nepal that can claim the antiquity of any of the temples of the Himalayan area in India, and the earliest such temple would at best be co-eval with the earliest *devāla* style temples in Nepal, *i.e.*, the last part of the 14th century. If climatic or seismic factors are held responsible for the phenomenon in Nepal, *e.g.*, destruction of the structural vestiges from still earlier periods, the same circumstances which prevail in the Himalayan belt of India cannot be expected to have given rise to different results. *Prima facie* this leads to a delinkage of the *a priori* adaptation of the protective appendage from Nepal, regardless of the adaptation having taken place, if at all, obviously much after the 15th century. The argument in favour of different people reasoning similarly to deal with comparable problems would, therefore, loose much of its force and validity, and the factual evidence would point to diffusion from an epicentral area, wherever it may have lain.

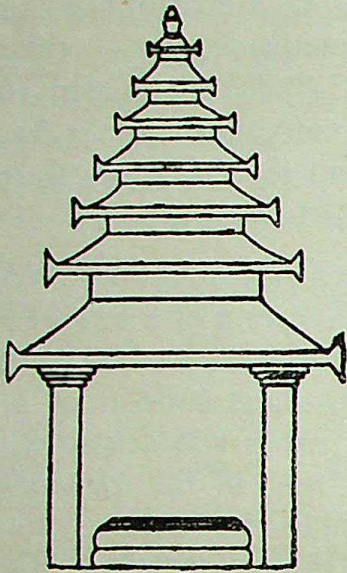


Fig. 2. Profile of a tiered temple in Burma (after S.K. Saraswati).
See page 203

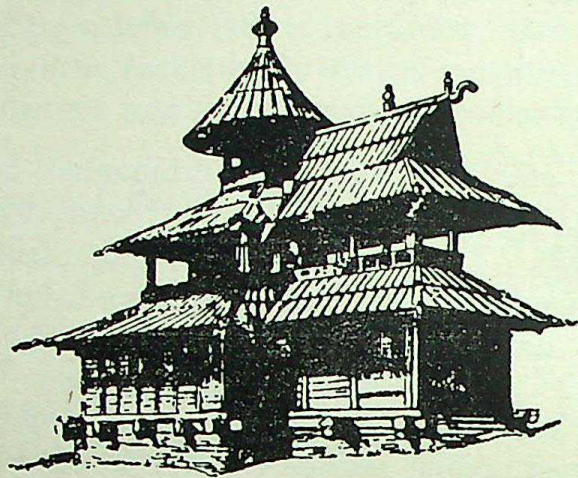


Fig. 3. Temple at Chergaon, Chamba (after James Fergusson). See page 90.

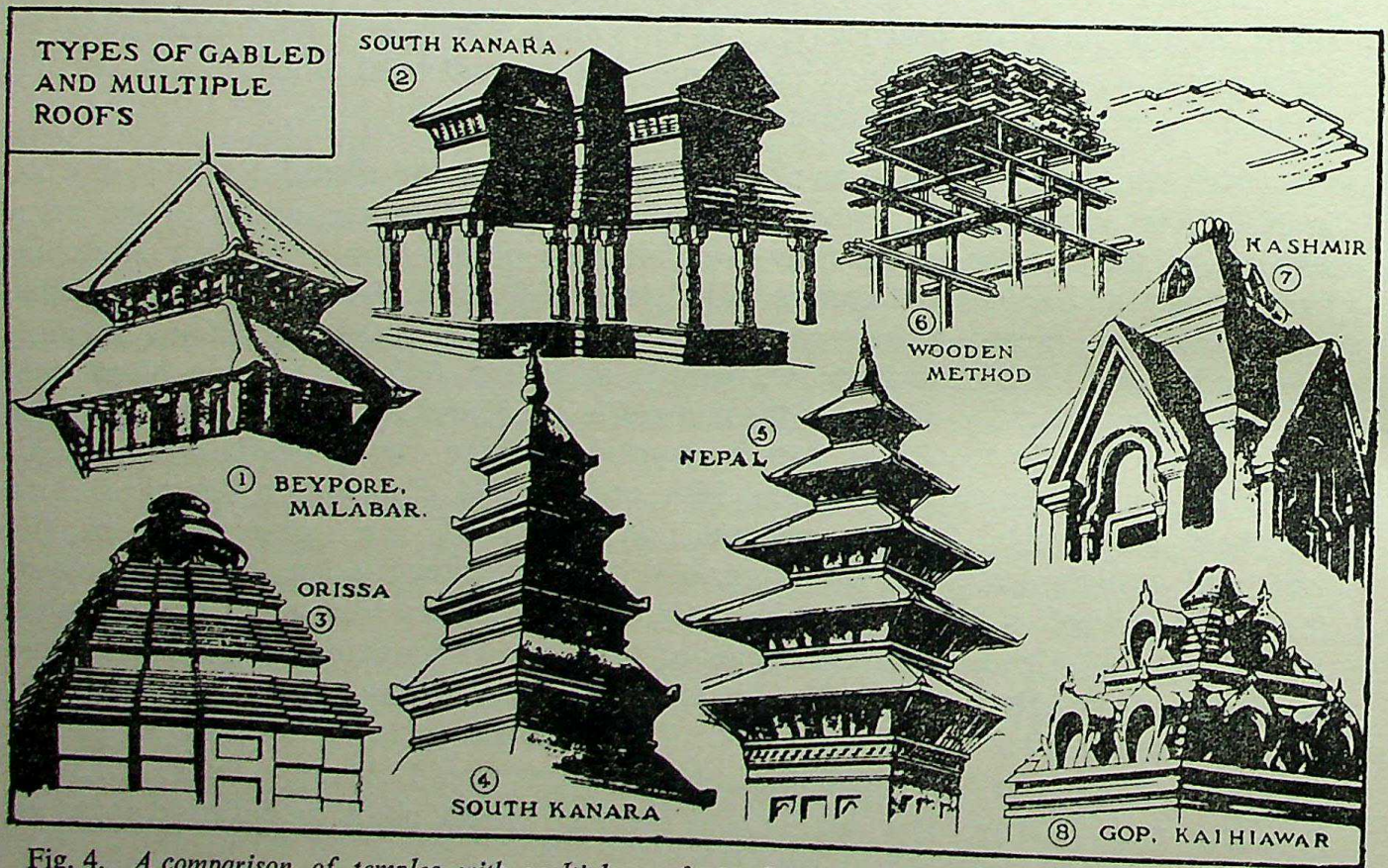
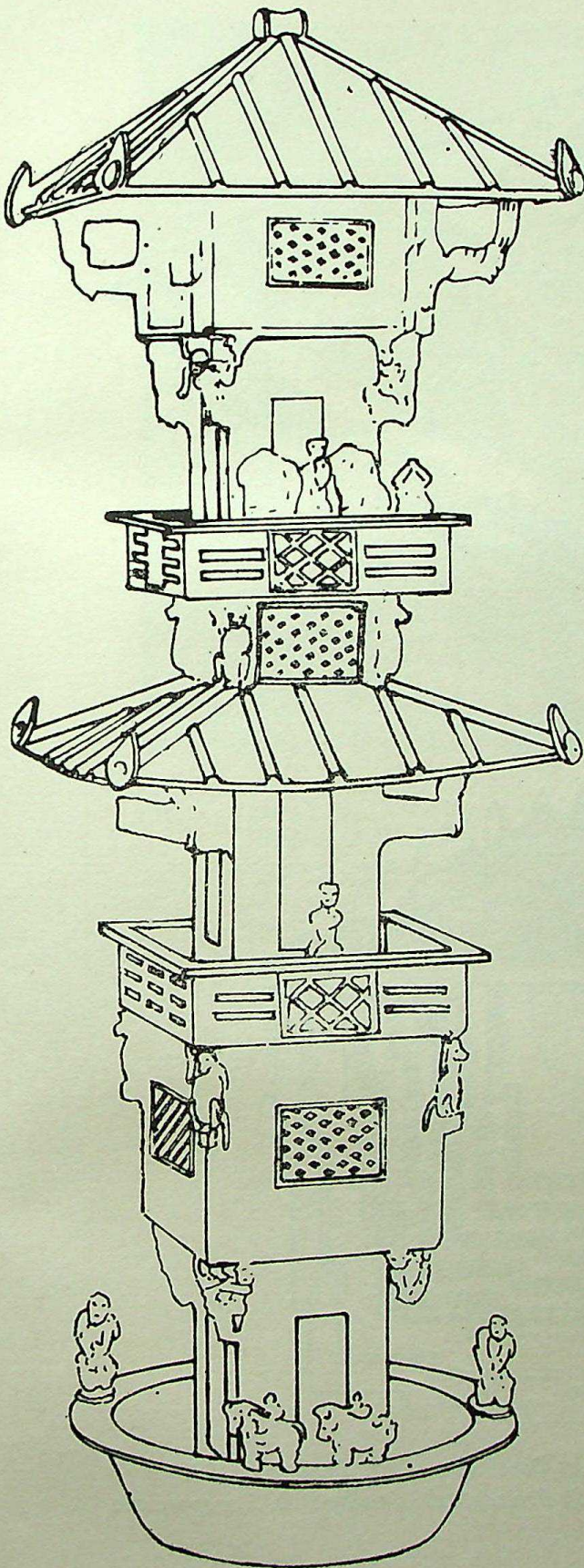


Fig. 4. A comparison of temples with multiple roofs in different parts of India and Nepal (after Percy Brown). See page 92. (Taken from *Indian Architecture Buddhist and Hindu Periods* published by D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Private Ltd., Bombay-1).



←Fig. 5. Sketch of a terracotta model of architectural grave furniture from China of Han Period, now in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Atkins Museum, Kansas City (U.S.A.) (after W. Speiser). See page 93.

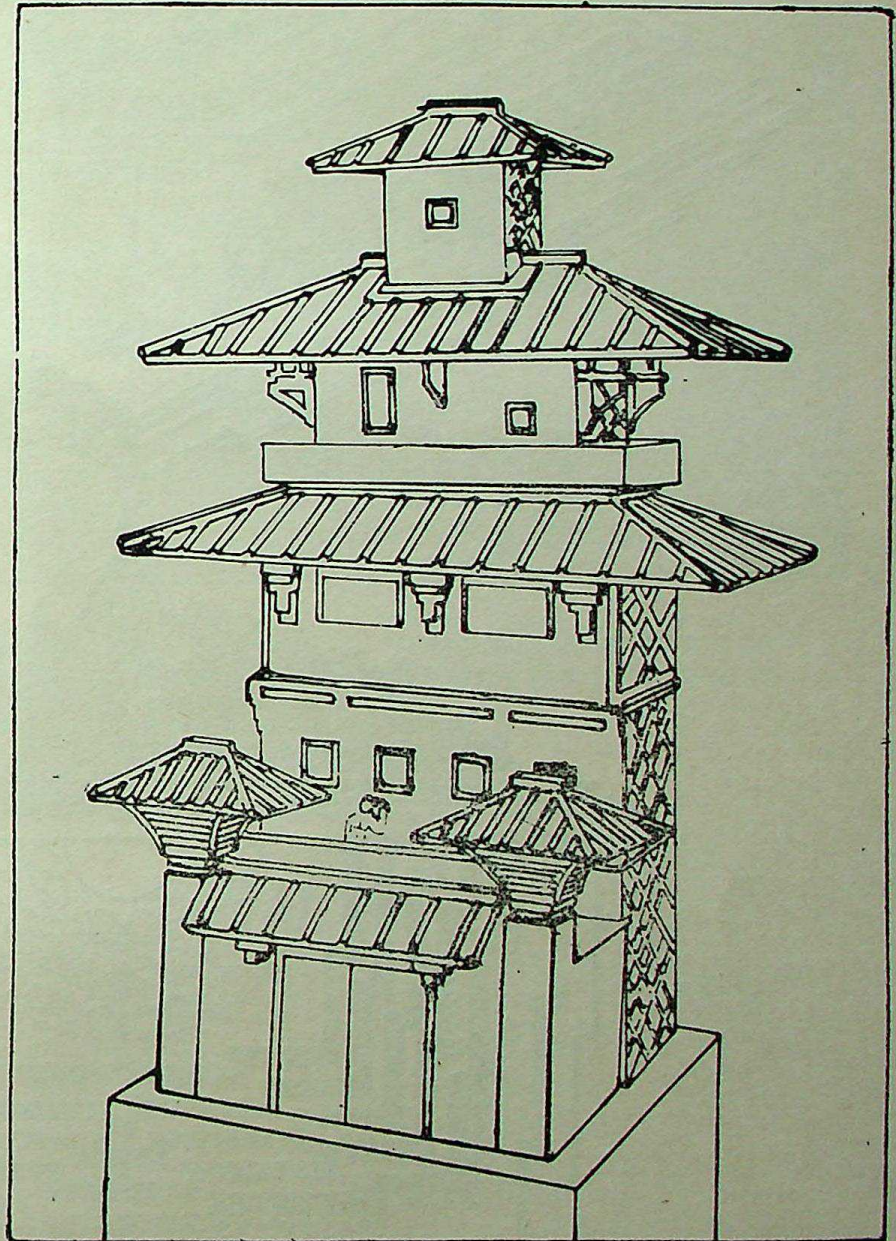


Fig. 6. Sketch of a terracotta model of architectural grave furniture from China (after Peter C. Swann). See page 93.

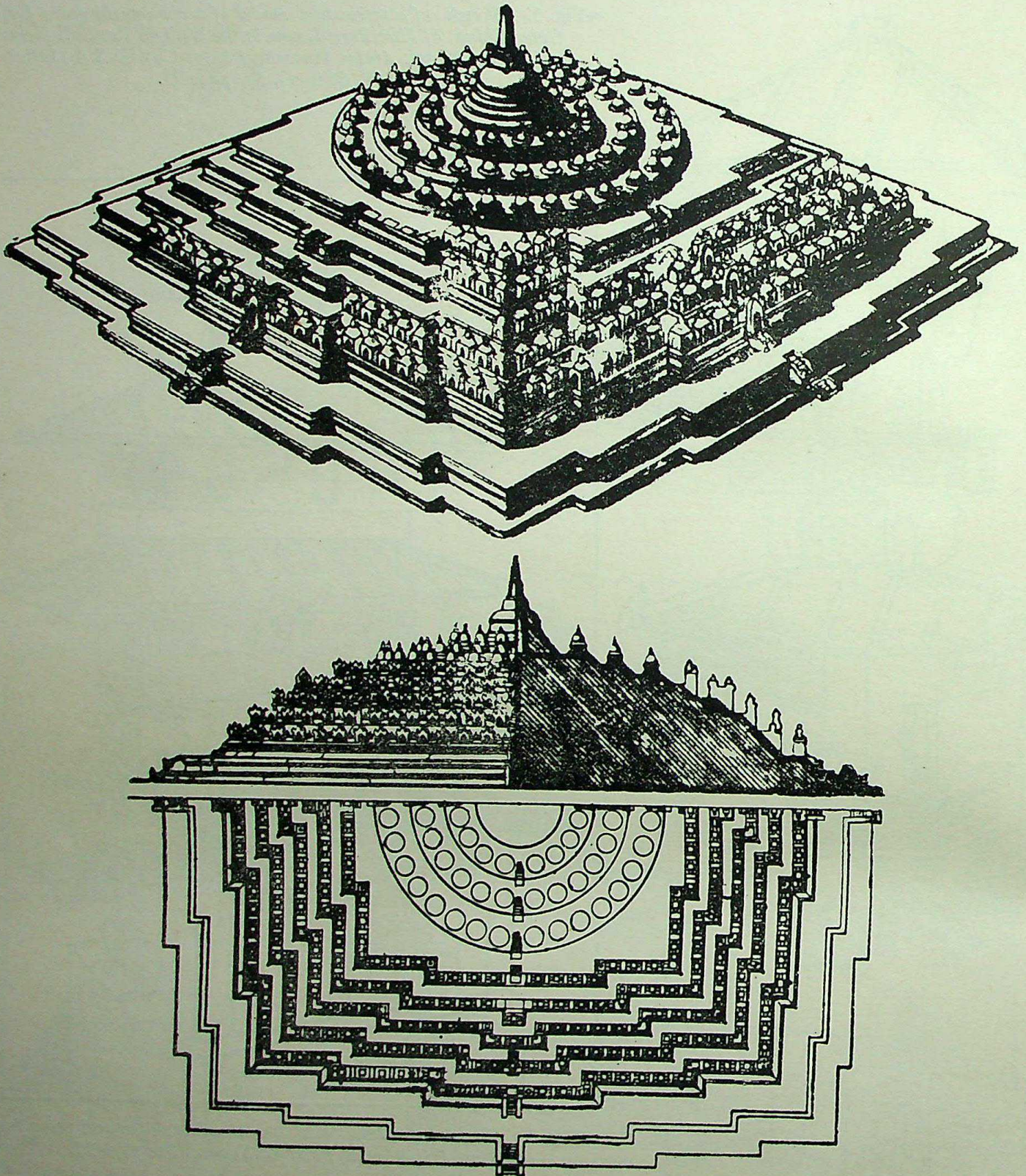


Fig. 7. A & B. Elevation, section and and plan of the stūpa at Barabudur, Java. See pages 123.
 Taken from *Indian Architecture Buddhist and Hindu Periods* published by D.B. Taraporevala
 Sons & Co. Private Ltd. Bombay-1.

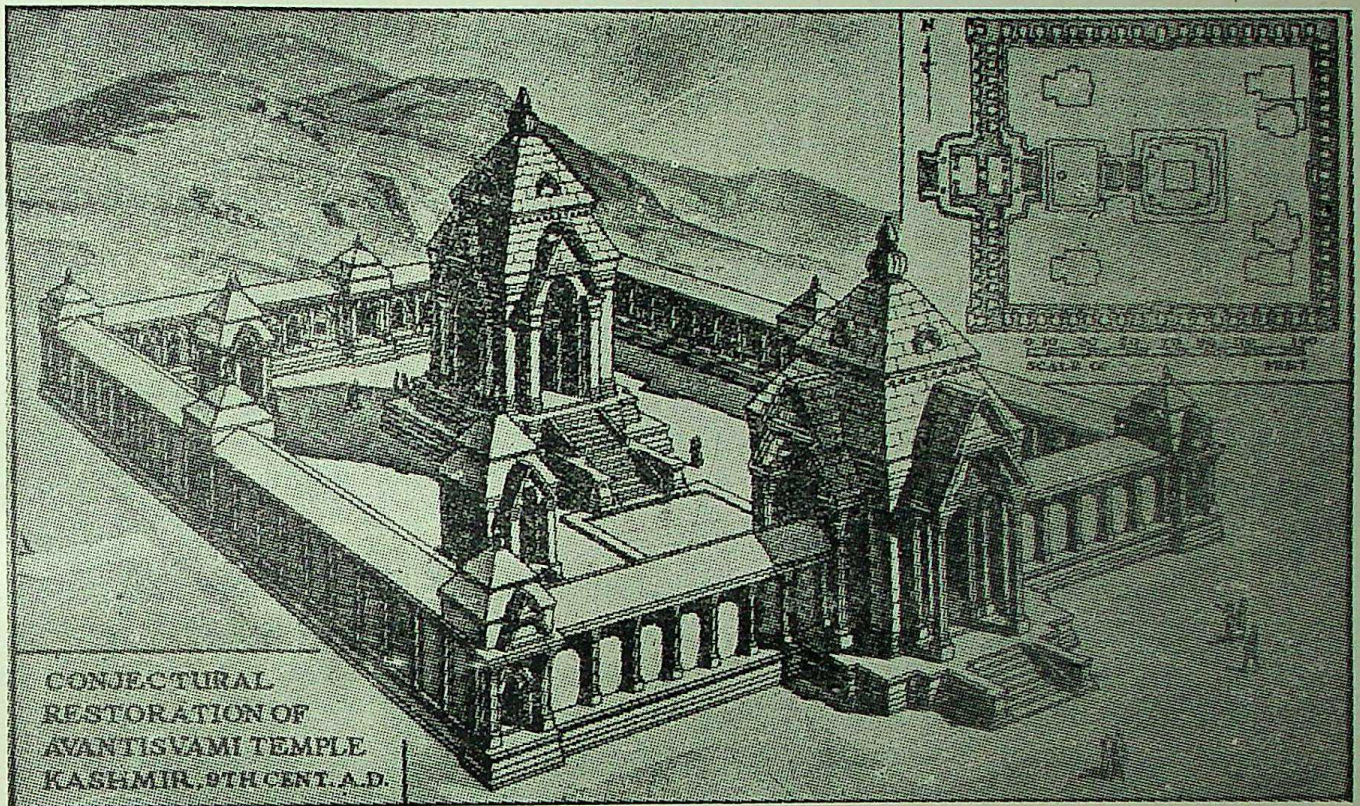


Fig. 9. Conjectural restoration of Avantisvami temple, Kashmir. 9th century A.D. (after Percy Brown). Taken from *Indian Architecture Buddhist and Hindu Periods* published by D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Private Ltd., Bombay). See pages 215-216.

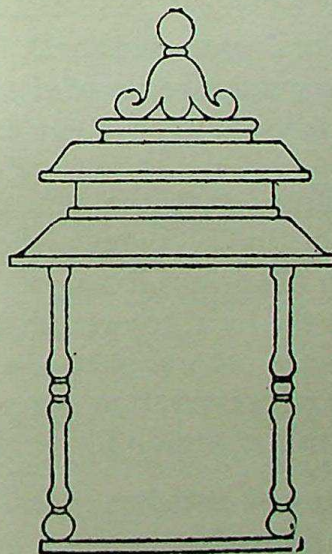


Fig. 8. Profile of a temple in Bengal (after S.K. Saraswati). See pages 203.

(iii) *Resumé*

All the factors dealt with above deserve consideration also in the context of the development of art and architecture in Nepal together with the ample evidence of earlier prototypes in the rootlands.

In the context of the points made above and of discussions held earlier on the dissemination of architectural forms, the following conclusion is arrived at.

To state that Nepal and India have lived in close cultural contact throughout history needs no emphasis.

Both countries have remained to this day centres of Sanskritic and Buddhistic studies. They share also common mythologies and are guided by common texts of religion. The social system in the two countries, barring the differences among the tribal or semi-tribal people, is common.

Both people have *moksha* or *nirvāṇa*, as the case may be, as the common goal of life. They share alike a deep reverence for the gods and goddesses and respect for elders and superiors. The lives of the peoples of both countries are rooted in the family and in the sanctity and sacredness of married life for the upholding of the social order, supporting of the recluse and ascetics, performance of religious duties and continuance of the race. They have shared through history a common political structure based on power emanating from the monarch, though India has had also the republican form of government, such as that of the Lichchhavis of Vaisali. That the later Lichchhavi rulers of Nepal were not entirely oblivious of their republican tradition of Vaisali days is clearly indicated by the salutations to the village elders, and *Brahmins* and all others in general in almost every inscription of the Lichchhavis.

A common geography has protected both the countries to a considerable extent from extraneous invasions and severity of climate, or at any rate minimised the possibility as well as effects of inroads by invaders from beyond the mountain barriers.

It is but natural, therefore, that the art and architecture of Nepal would be closely linked with that of India, though she contributed her own skill, talent and imagination to the creation of various forms of art and architecture to sustain the life-styles as well as to reflect the local topography, landscape, material, physiognomy and to evolve her own styles in the natural pace of events. This is also reflected in the common approach to problems of preservation, maintenance and repairs of the heritage, which could as well be traced to a common ideological source.

That the idea of the *śikhara* shrines has travelled to Nepal from the direction of India, in spite of local variations, is clear, not merely from the stylistic similarities, but the references to the *Vishṇudharmottara* in the inscriptions as a source of

architectural design, apart from the established priority of inscripational and archaeological evidence on temple architecture in the different parts of India.

That the multiple plinths and multiple roofs have been found in India in the early centuries of the Christian era, the former as early as the 4th-5th century (at Ahichchhatra and Pawaya), even if the evidence of Lauriya Nandangarh, dated to the middle of the first millennium B.C., is to be discounted in the context of the temple and the latter as an idea in the context of religious edifices as early as the 1st-2nd century A.D. (the Kanishka *stūpa* at Shahji-ki-Dheri near Peshawar described by Yuan Chwang) are established facts. The existence of multiple storeys in structural form goes back to the Harappan times, but in early historical times they go back to the 3rd century B.C. as adduced by the Sohgaura bronze plate engraved design and inscription and the designs on the *Audumbara* coins (of the 2nd-1st century B.C.) referred to earlier. Even in early mediaeval times, the form of roofs with a multiple-tiered profile has not merely evolved in India but has inspired similar forms in the neighbouring countries, as Professor Saraswati has established. The same phenomenon happened in Nepal as well.

At the hands of the Nepalese craftsmen, artisans, woodworkers and masons, however, the forms reached a high degree of sophistication and their distinctive characteristics in Nepal. Whether the particular form of multiple roofs also found its way back later into contiguous regions of India, not as an integral element of the temple structures but as a protective contraption as at Jageswar, Badrinath, Lakhamandal, Hanol in Uttar Pradesh and at Hatkoti in Himachal Pradesh, cannot be vouched for, as the tradition of multiple-roofed temples is much older in the region as the evidence of Kashmir, Chamba, Manali and Kulu would seem to indicate.

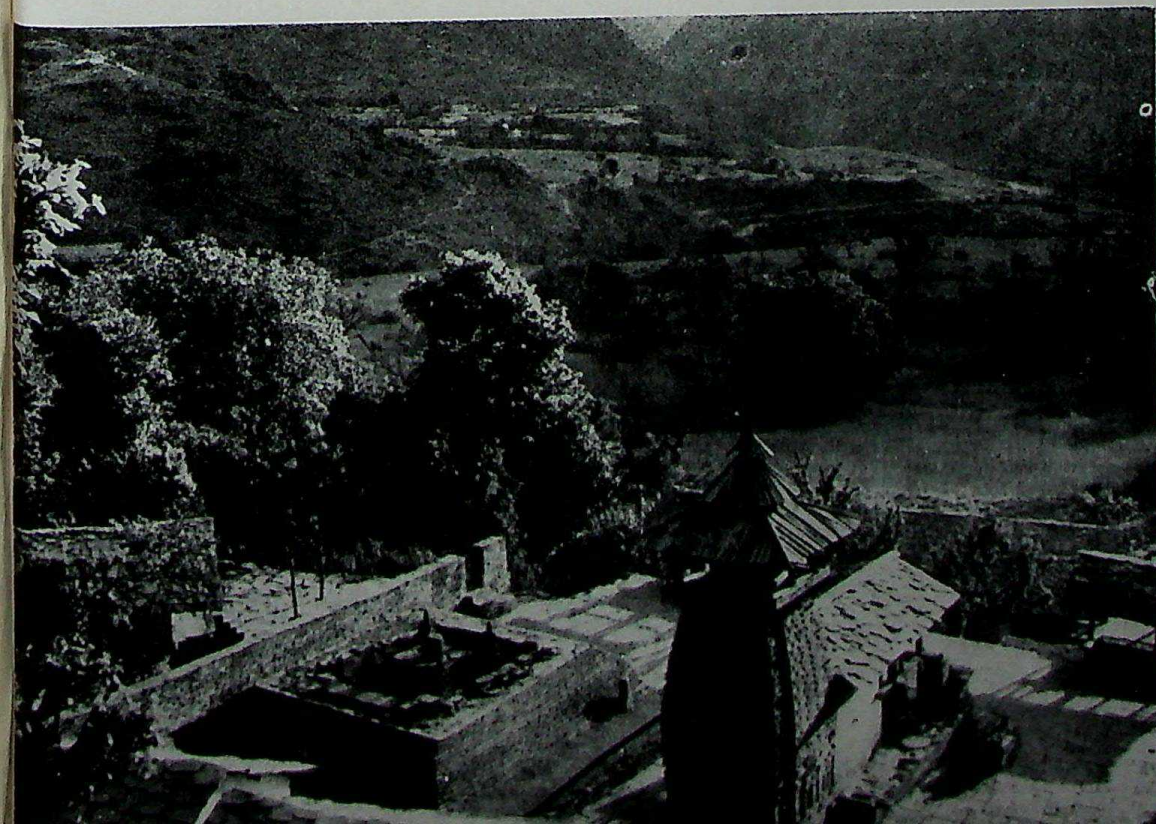
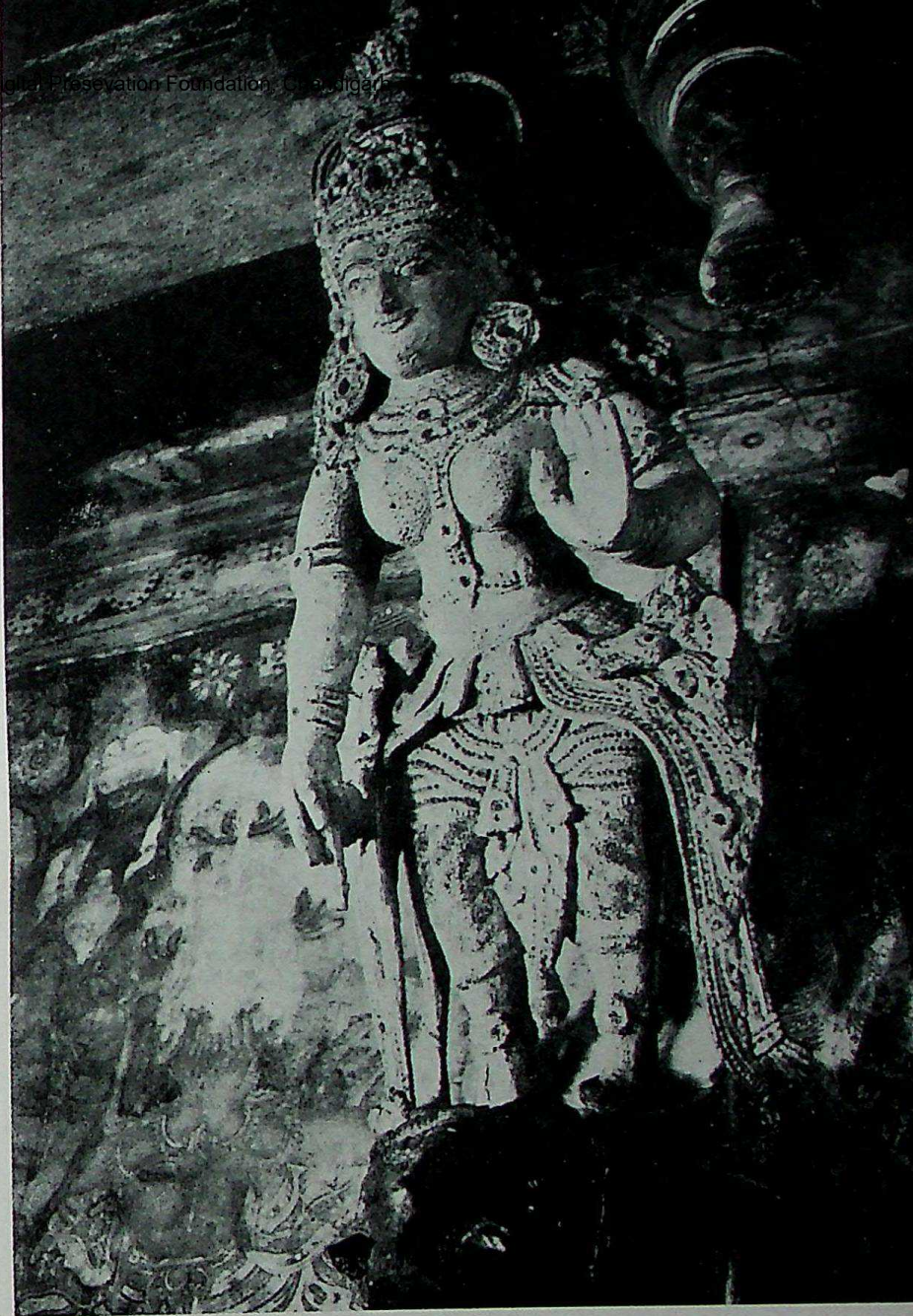
In respect of Himachal Pradesh again the form had evolved earlier than any extant temple of the style, say at Nirmand, in the Satluj valley, in the 12th century and would indicate the existence of a style based on earlier prototypes which are reflected suggestively and limitedly by the *piḍa* profile of the temples of India, including those of Baijnath in the Uttar Pradesh of a much earlier date than the extant temples in Nepal.

The form had also reached a wide variety of regional sophistication in Kashmir, Gujarat, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Karnataka and Kerala. Nepal also received a considerable measure of cultural impact during her close contacts with the Karnataka dynasty of Simraongarh from A.D. 1097 onwards, in addition to the close cultural relations from still earlier days with the Palas of Bengal and Bihar, from the 8th century onwards.

While the many facets of the evolution of the multiple-roofed temple in Nepal have thus become clear, there is no room for doubt about the original source of the *śikhara* or *nāgara* style of temple architecture or its adaptation and individualization in Nepal, alongside the distinctive and more popular and perhaps utilitarian multiple-roofed temples of Nepal evolved by her inventive genius from a pre-existing form of her southern neighbour.

The *dhuṅge-dhārās*, *tūtedhārās*, *pāṭis*, *powāhs*, *vihāras*, *bahāls* or *bahis* (monasteries), common man's houses and the palaces, other than those introduced by the Ranas, reflect fully indeed the indigenous genius of Nepal and have only comparable parallels, if not exact prototypes, in the neighbouring regions, outside the boundaries, in the south. And in the whole gamut of architecture these distinctive forms have left their impact as effective or impressive architectural contributions of Nepal to the heritage of man, involving artistic skill, engineering device and solicitude for utility and are distinguished by significance as technical, artistic and historical phenomena of no mean importance.

Pl. XC. (Kerala) : bracket under cave
of temple.

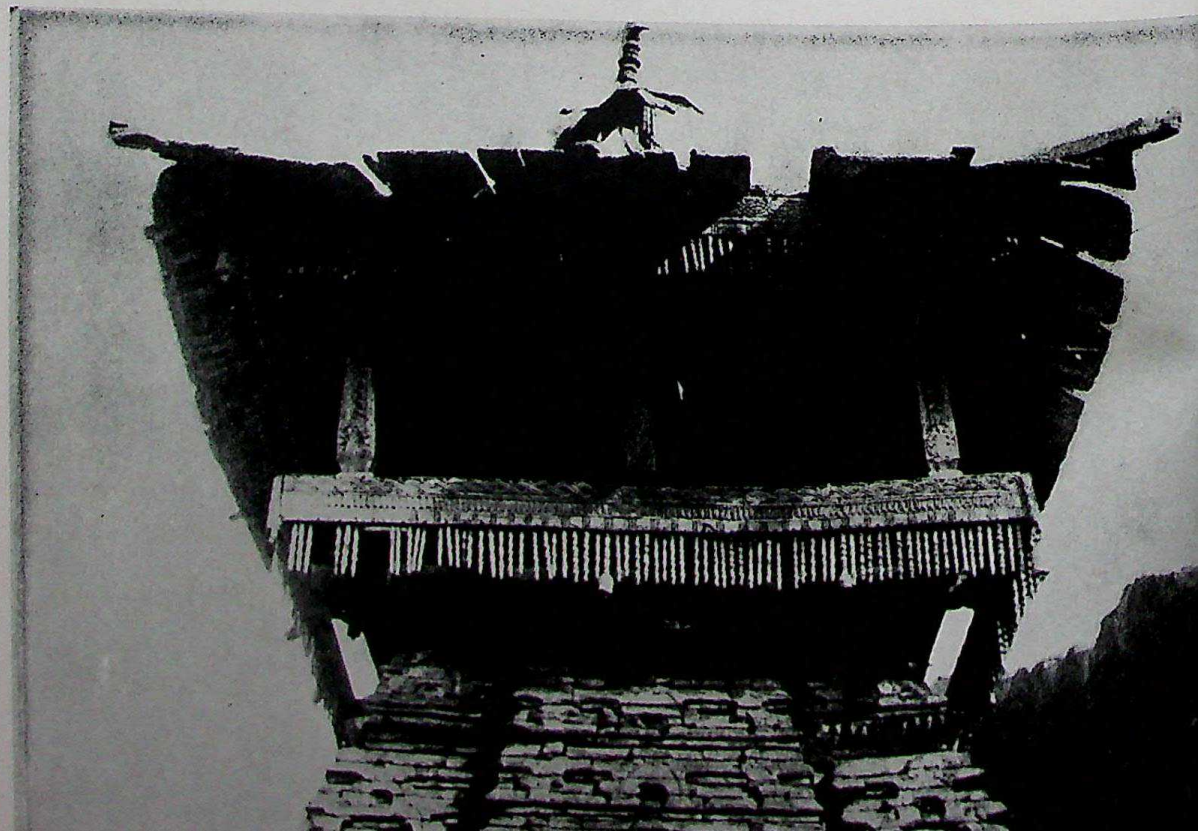


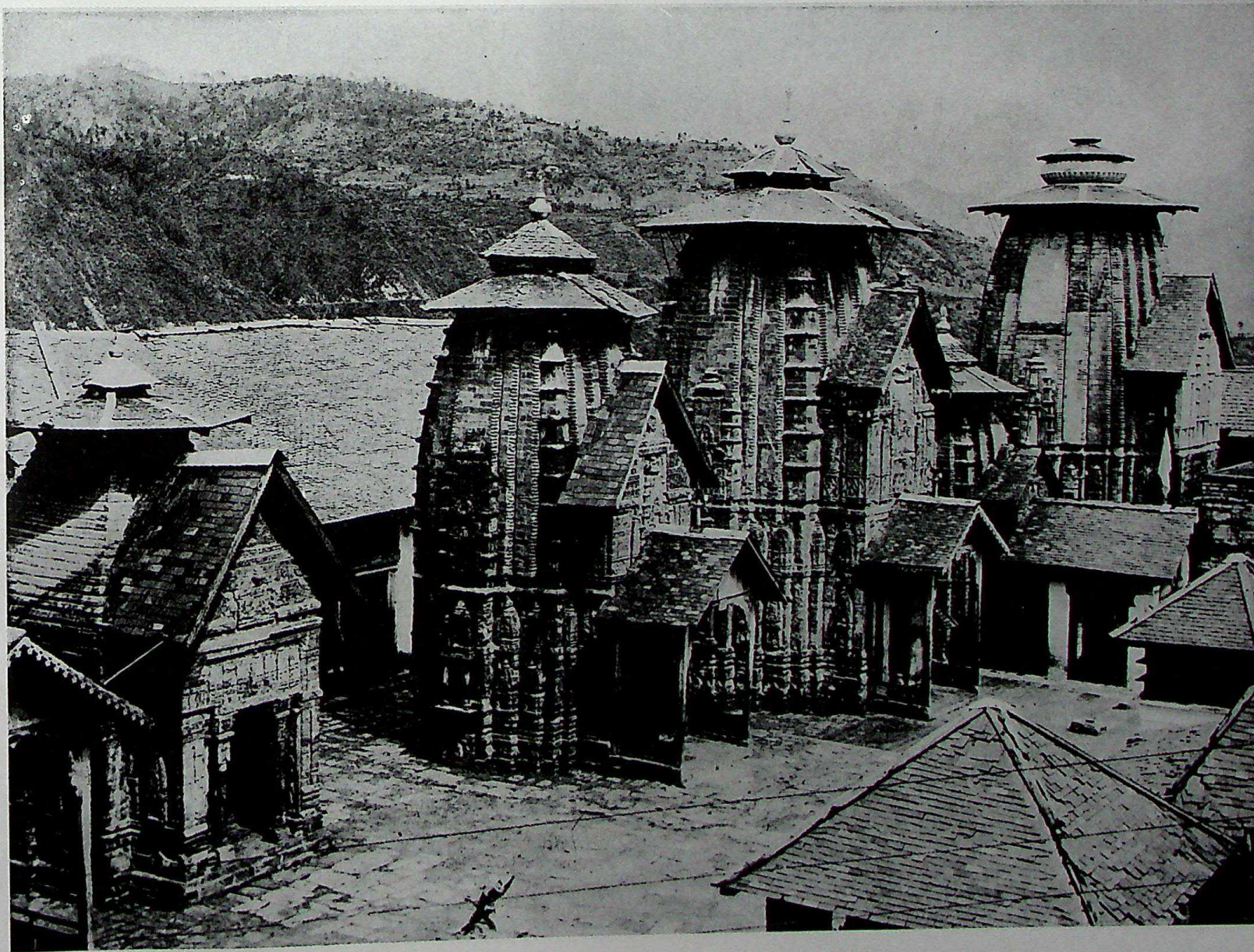
Pl. XCI. Lakhamandal
(Uttar Pradesh) : Siva
temple 9th century).



Pl. XCII. Lakhamandal (Uttar Pradesh) :
Close-up of Siva temple (9th century).

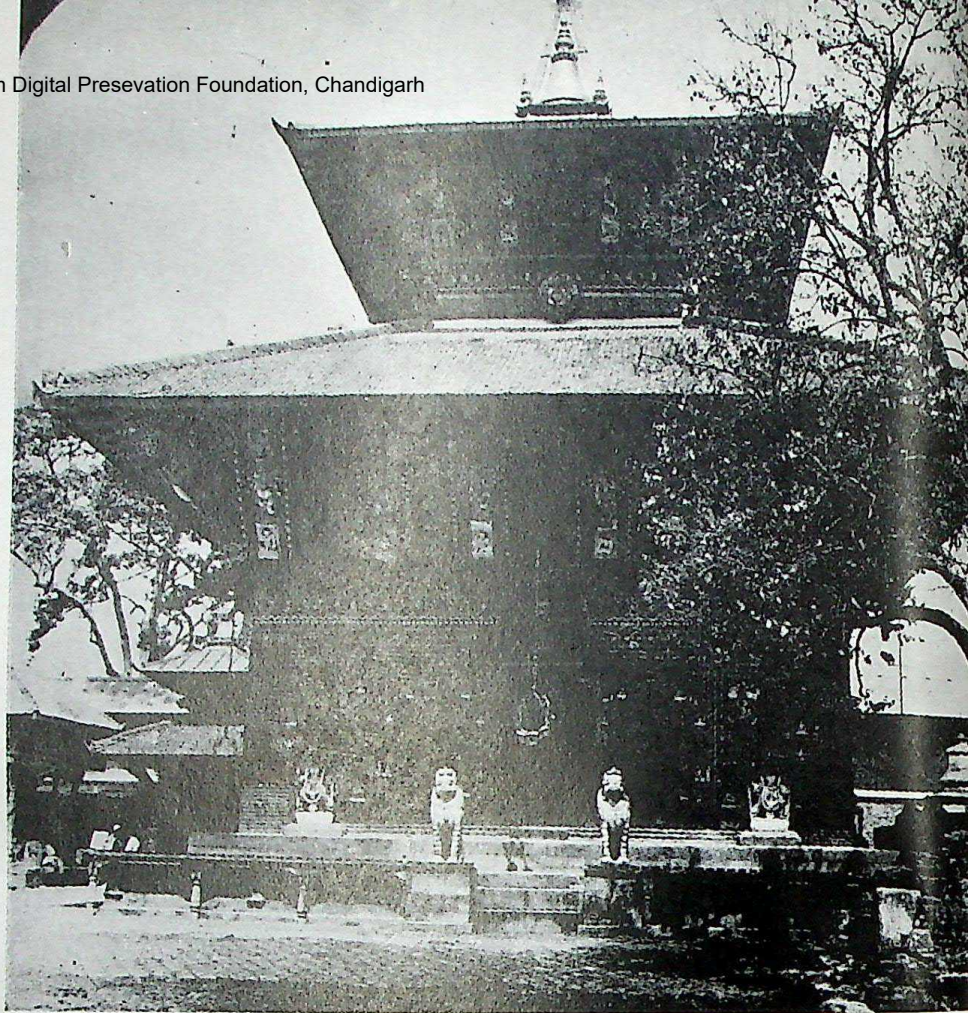
Pl. XCIII. Lakhamandal (Uttar Pradesh) :
Details of protective cover of Siva temple.





Pl. XCIV. Chamba (Himachal Pradesh) : Lakshminarayana group of temples showing contraptions of multiple roofs over *sikhara* shrines (13th century).

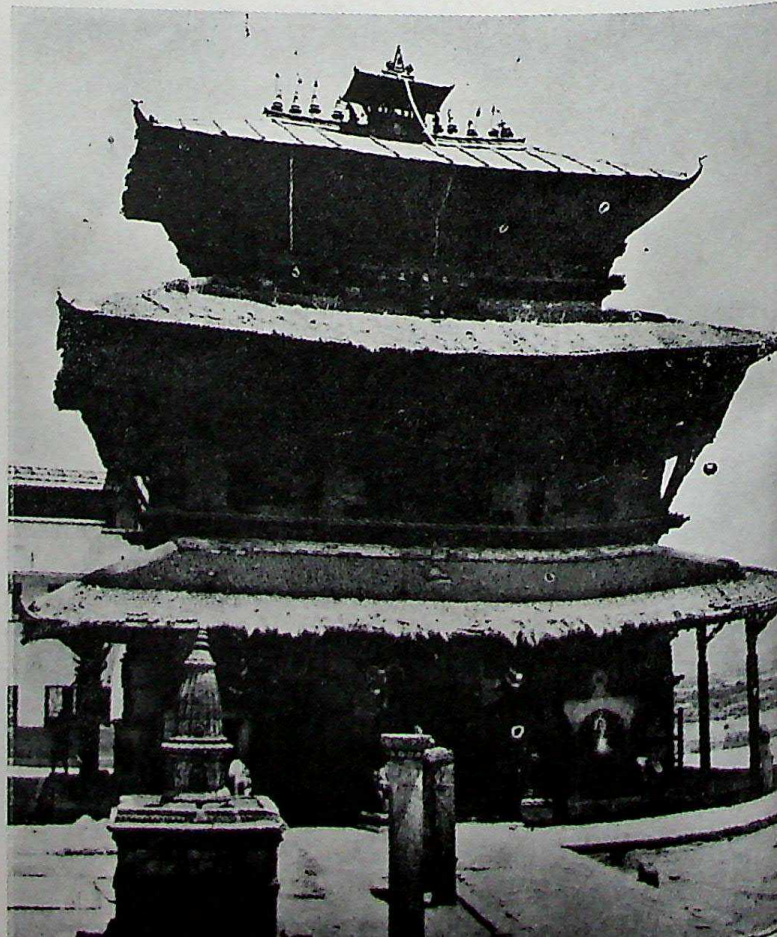
Pl. XCV. Changu Narayana : Two roofed temple over a single plinth (built in 18th century).

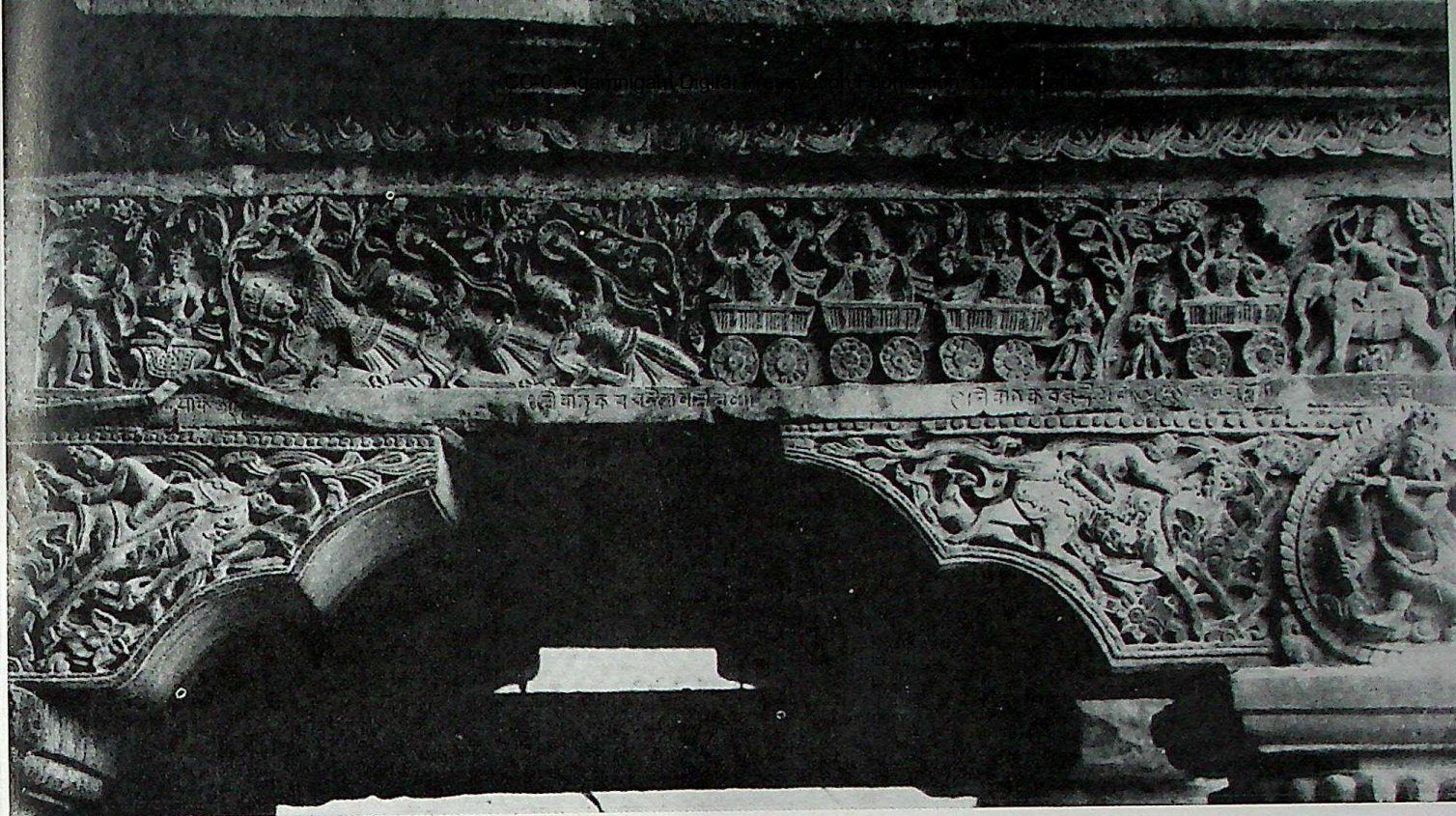


Pl. XCVII. Kirtipur : Uma-Mahesvara temple in ruins showing up the method of construction.



Pl. XCVI. Kirtipur : Bagh Bhairava temple on rectangular plan (16th century).

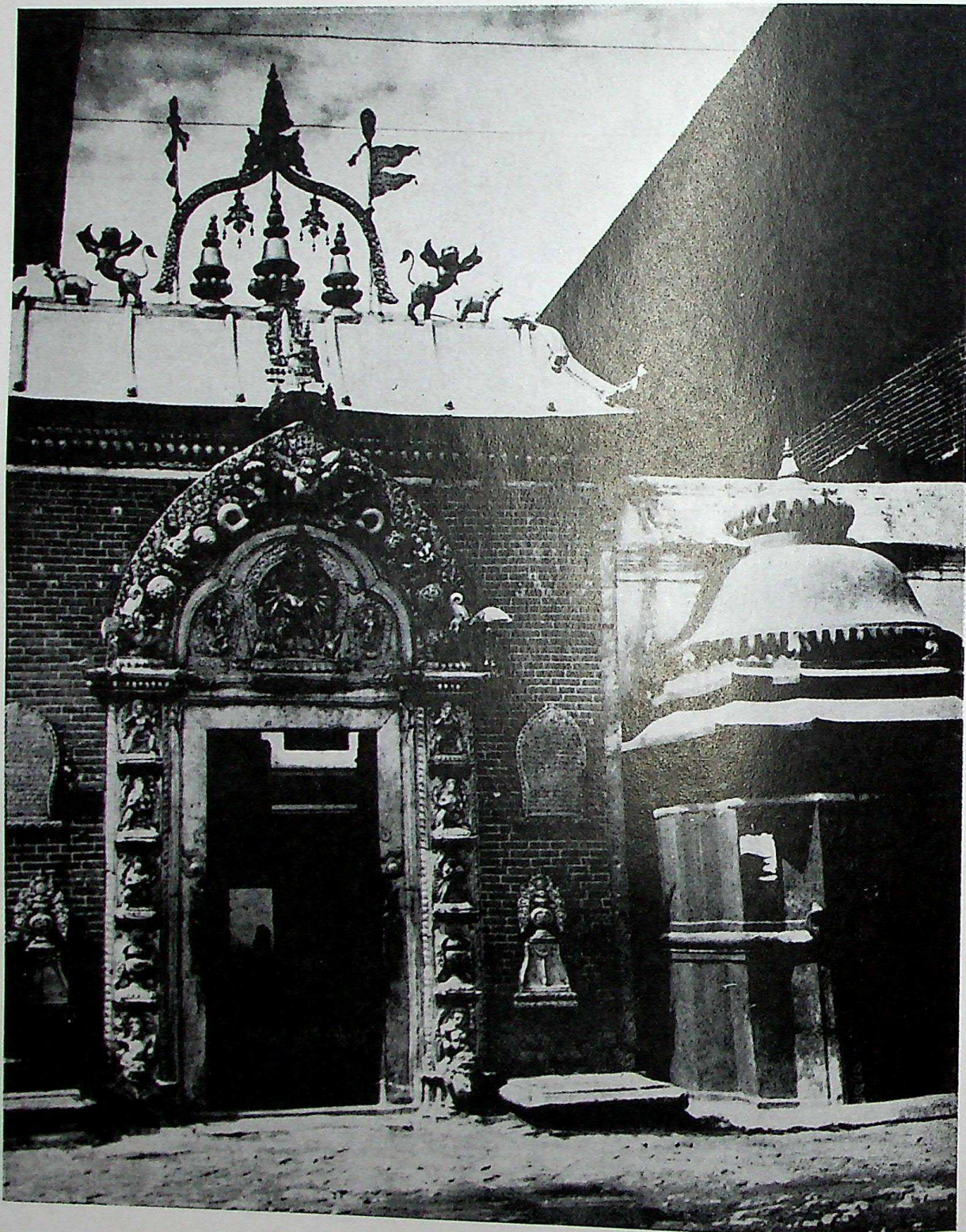




Pl. XCVIII. Patan : Labelled scenes from the *Mahabharata* on lintel of Krishna temple (A.D. 1637).

Pl. XCIX. Patan : Labelled scenes from the *Mahabharata* on lintel of Krishna temple





Pl. C. Bhaktapur : Entrance Gateway of Taleju Bhavani temple (18th century) flanked by small shrine of Rana period with *āmalaka* and *kalasa*.



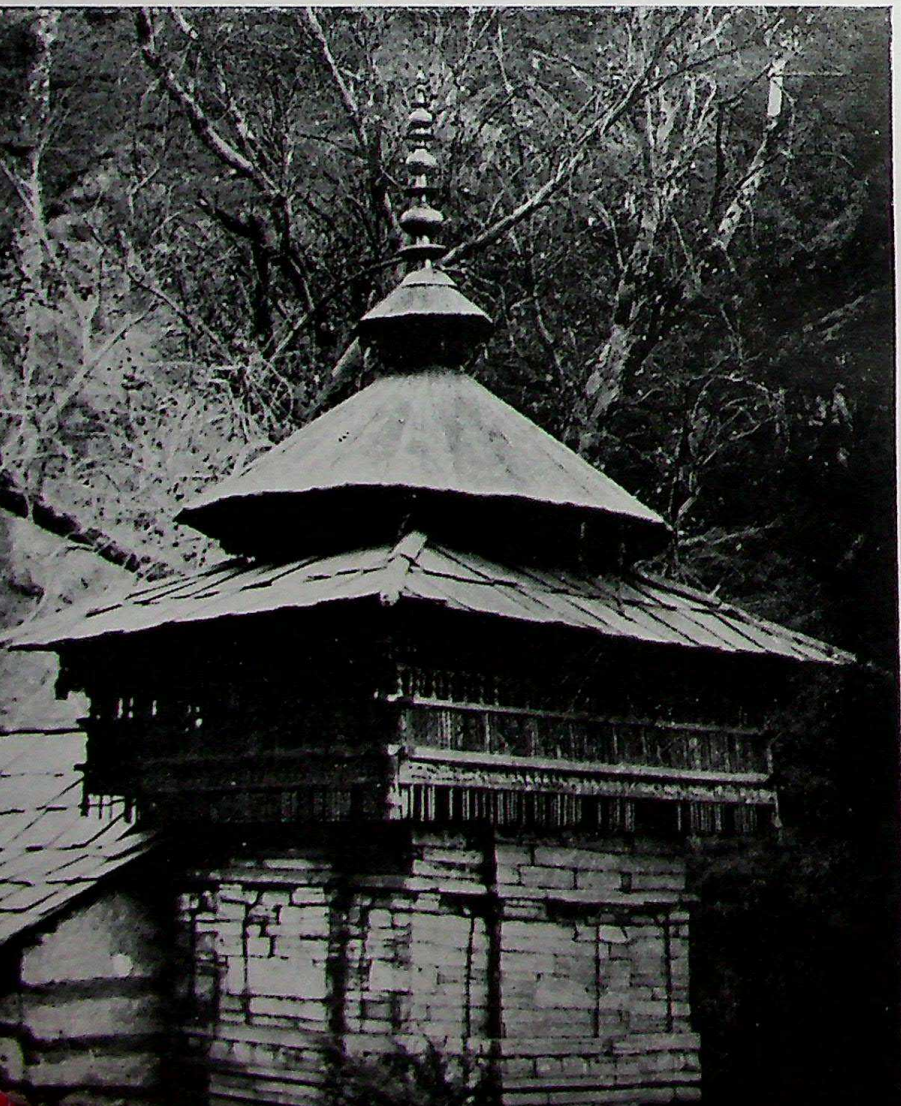
Pl. CI. Patan : Krishna temple showing auspicious symbols in woodwork flanking entrance to shrine.

Pl. CII. Patan : Krishna temple showing auspicious symbols in woodwork flanking entrance to shrine.

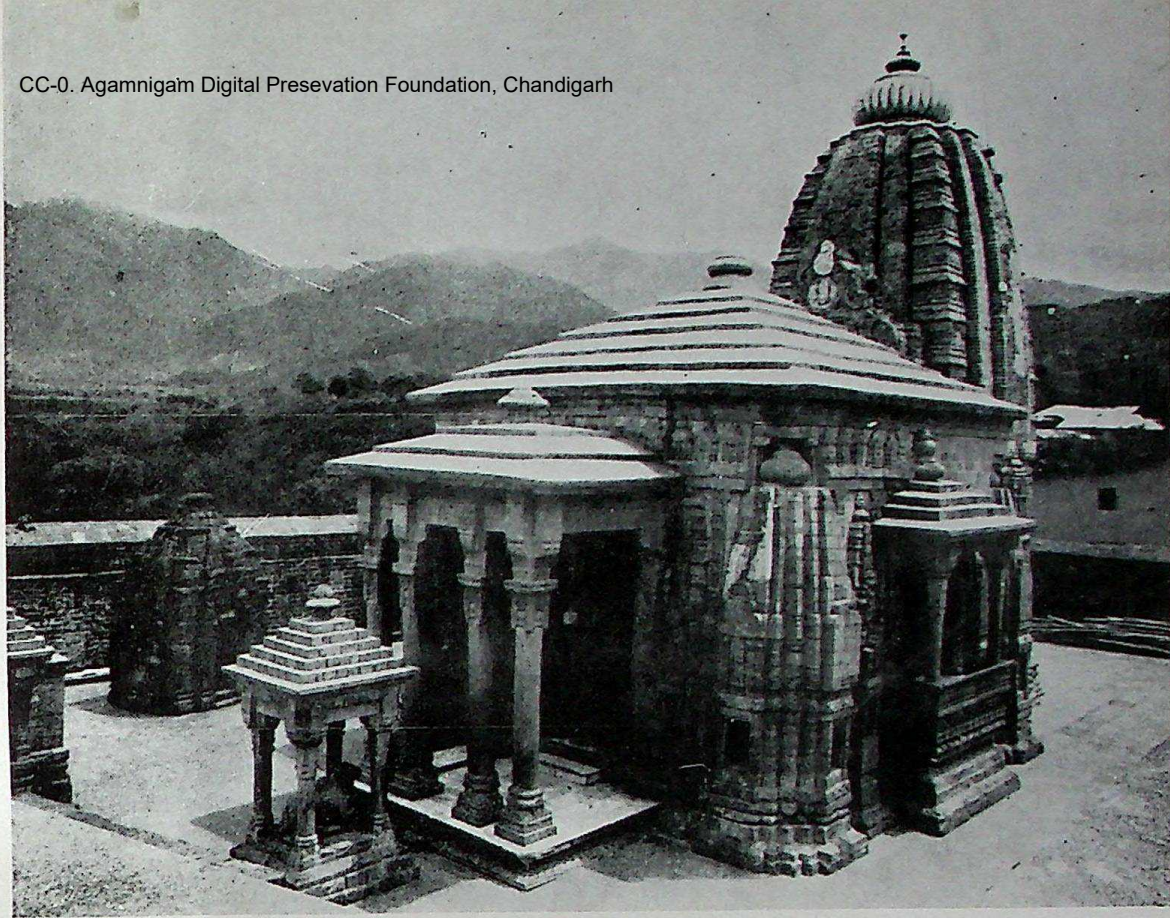




Pl. CIII. Hanol (Dehradun) : Mahasu temple
(9th century).



Pl. CIV. Hanol (Dehradun) : Details of multiple
roofs and wood carving (absence of
sukanasa may be noted).



Pl. CV. Baijnath (District Kangra) : Siva temple (13th century).



Pl. CVI. Kathmandu : Figure of Bhairava consecrated by Pratapamalla (17th century).

Pl. CVII. Konarak, District Puri, Orissa : Panel showing multiple roofs, use of small tiles and a row of three *kalasas* on ridged roof (13th century).



Pl. CVIII. Swayambhunatha : Figure of Bhairava, d. 781 N.S., i.e., A.D. 1660.



Pl. CIX. Bhaktapur : Stone sculpture of Hari-Sankara enshrined in the palace at Malatichok, d. 818 N.S. *i e.*, A.D. 1697, by king Bhupatindramalla.



Pl. CX. Deopatan⁷(Kathmandu) : Paśupati temple and *ghats* on the Bagmati.

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